



# ***Daily Report***

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# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-062  
Friday  
30 March 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

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30 March 1990

**NOTICE TO READERS:** \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Gabon

### Chad-Libya Meeting Ends in 'Deadlock'

AB2903160690 Dakar PANA in English 0835 GMT  
29 Mar 90

[Text] Libreville, 29 March (AGP-GAB/PANA)—The meeting between Chad and Libya to pursue negotiations on their long-drawn border dispute ended in a deadlock on Wednesday in Libreville due to the fresh outbreak of fighting at the Chad-Sudan border, it was gathered in the Gabonese capital.

Leader of the Chadian delegation, Minister of External Affairs Acheikh ibn Oumar, said that he was worried by the resumption of fighting which has marred the talks.

Sudan is in complicity with Libya and does not care about the lives of the people at the border, a Chadian official said.

The three-day talks agreed however to set up a subcommittee to define the border at the disputed Aouzou Strip according to Article 4 of the framework accord signed by the two countries in Algiers in August 1989.

The delegations also said they would submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice at the Hague for arbitration, adding that both countries would withdraw their military or para-military forces from both sides of the Aouzou. They also restated that they would exchange prisoners of war, which they had already done to some extent as a result of the OAU-mediated talks.

The delegations were received after the talks by Gabonese President Omar Bongo, chairman of the OAU adhoc committee on the dispute.

### AFP Reports Relaxation of Curfew

AB3003094490 Paris AFP in French 0845 GMT  
30 Mar 90

[Text] Libreville, 30 Mar (AFP)—The curfew, which has been in force in Gabon since Tuesday, 27 March, from 1900 local time (1800 GMT) to 0600 (0500 GMT), has been pushed back to 2100 local time (2000 GMT), an official source announced this morning in Libreville. The measure was adopted at the opening of discussions of the National Conference which is charged with drafting the statutes of the Gabonese Social Democratic Rally. According to the authorities, this party is expected to embrace all shades of political opinion in the country. Apart from the curfew, all gatherings and strike actions were banned. The opposition parties participating in the conference are demanding the lifting of these measures.

The curfew, a rare measure in Gabon, which has for the past several months been facing social unrest, is not strictly complied with, observers noted. Most of the restaurants and nighttime business concerns resumed their activities after respecting the curfew on the first night. Regular flights still arrive late at night, while taxis

continue to operate. The police have, however, carried out several controls and arrests during the past two nights, a reliable source disclosed. According to the GABONESE NEWS AGENCY and the UNION newspaper, several people including a journalist were roughed up during these controls.

### \* Bongo Rejects Multiparty Idea, Successor

34190062A Libreville L'UNION  
in French 12 Jan 90 pp 6-7

[Opening speech delivered by President El Hadj Omar Bongo on 11 January 1990 during a special session of the Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party at the 12 March Convention Hall]

[Text] First of all, I would like to tell you how pleased I am to be among you again and to take this opportunity to extend to you my militant and fraternal greetings.

And from this rostrum, I would also like to extend my greetings through all of you to all the other comrades who for three years, and despite the difficulties, have kept their faith in the party and in our institutions and have continued to devote a sizable share of their time to the PDG [Gabonese Democratic Party].

It is all the more to the credit of all of them that for the most part, their activity during this period has often been has carried out at tremendous sacrifice to themselves.

I urge the entire party to follow the example of those compatriots whose faith and militant ardor have kept the PDG permanently present throughout the territory.

Our Central Committee is meeting at a time when the country is experiencing an acute economic and financial crisis. That crisis, which has mobilized all our energies since 1986 and has not spared a single family, has become the chief concern of all Gabonese.

A situation as difficult as this could not fail to have harmful effects on party life. Worried by unemployment, the decline in their purchasing power, and the uncertain future, which are the consequences of the drop in economic activity, many of our militants have given way to despondency. The result is that discouragement has supplanted the enthusiasm of former years.

The inadequate funds allocated to the leading organizations at all levels have made it impossible to implement all the actions necessary for pulling the rank and file together. It is chiefly for that reason that the Central Committee has not met since 1986.

The slowdown observed in party activity, the objective and basic causes of which we have just seen, has been perceived in different ways by our militants. Some of them have even reached the point of doubting the party and asking themselves why it exists.

The Gabonese Democratic Party has proved its effectiveness and its usefulness. Founded to establish and



strengthen national unity—an indispensable condition for the country's harmonious development—the PDG has made an inestimable contribution to the tremendous economic and social progress achieved in Gabon over the past 22 years.

It is thanks to the peace, stability, and concord established and guaranteed by our great party that Gabon has experienced such remarkable development.

I take particular pleasure in seeing how far we have come since 1968 and noting how much this country has changed during that time! In the course of this long-term job of building Gabon, mistakes may have been made and inadequacies, and even serious shortcomings may be noted here and there.

It is duty of all of us to be able to detect and correct those mistakes, rectify those inadequacies, and energetically remedy those shortcomings.

But our achievements are much greater. We need to safeguard them by ensuring cohesion in our ranks and working always to strengthen our national unity. All of that depends on the strengthening of our single party.

It is essential that everything be done to restore the active life of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee, the Permanent Secretariat, the federations, the sections, and the specialized organizations.

That is why we must reflect on the steps to be taken to provide our leading organizations with the resources needed for their activities.

We have recently observed certain negative behavior that, if not firmly combated, would tarnish the image of the government and the party.

For example, demagoguery and duplicity seem to be gaining followers among our politicians. Instead of mobilizing the living forces of the nation with a view to building the country, some officials are more interested in looking for a political clientele entirely devoted to them.

Some are now doing only what they have to do and cultivating a false neutralism, thinking that they will, thereby, safeguard their chances for who knows what in the future. Having gotten into the business for the advantages they can gain from their positions, those comrades detest constraints, avoid getting involved, and drag their feet or make themselves scarce when it comes to mounting the battlements to defend our institutions.

Government solidarity has become an empty word except when it is a matter of protecting selfish interests.

Although we all know that a state cannot be run on the basis of rumors, we unfortunately see some compatriots, among them a number of political officials, cheerfully entering into that highly dangerous game.

For example, it is being said that I intend to prepare for my succession, as though that were a topical issue. Those compatriots are forgetting, or pretending to forget, that in this country we have a constitution that we must all respect.

Intrigue and bad faith—the weapons of a past that we want to see remain in the past—are reappearing here and there.

Those are all unhealthy and harmful habits that can only lead to the dissipation of our energies and thus to the weakening of our country.

Lack of self-confidence and weakness of character in the face of adversity are feelings accentuated by the difficult times we are experiencing and they explain a great deal of that bad behavior.

We have the duty to combat those scourges firmly and to rebuild our confidence.

At a time when cohesion and solidarity are essential in view of the difficulties we are experiencing, there are compatriots who spend their time sowing discord, stirring up ethnic antagonisms, and thus encouraging division. Some people believe they will not be happy until they themselves or someone from their ethnic group or province heads the country.

The old tribal reflexes—the favorite weapon of ambitious intellectuals and demagogic political officials—still exist, and the tendency to judge one's compatriots not by their real capabilities but by their ethnic or provincial origins is becoming very common.

Geopolitics has been completely perverted in practice, and the buddy system is gaining ground.

As for our detractors, they have made the search for ethnic hegemony their main concern. The events of 1981 and 1989 are patent examples of this.

I have already made myself clear on the subject of the recently discovered plots in our country to assassinate the chief of state. The painful experience of those destabilization attempts proves that it is precisely those who are enjoying the benefits of our policy who are stirring up, exploiting, and organizing tribal hatreds and plotting to overthrow the institutions. This matter is now in the hands of the courts, and we must let them handle it in complete independence.

However, we must stress the fact that those people represent only themselves and not an ethnic group or province.

We have established a state, but we still need to strengthen the Gabonese nation in unity and cohesion. The reasons underlying the establishment of the PDG in 1968 are still with us. There is, therefore, no objective reason to scuttle this great mass party that, as we said earlier, is the main promoter of our development.

Our faith in the single party is well-known. That faith has been fueled by the bitter, sad, painful, and negative experience of our people during the first few years of independence.

Reasserting the need for the single party does not mean that we should seek to stifle the aspiration of our people for more freedom and well-being.

We feel that it is precisely within the framework of a great single mass party, but one open to all Gabonese of all shades of opinion, that our people will be able to develop fully.

Leading a relatively well-informed and politicized people, we must use patience, know how to listen to all opinions, and show conviction. Fraternal dialogue must be our daily policy.

A society as open to the world as ours is has considerable advantages. The party must be capable of mobilizing all those abilities.

Taking care to strengthen our democracy, preserving the basic freedoms of our population, mobilizing all of the country's energies to overcome the economic crisis, creating a climate of dialogue and of openness toward those who have wrongly opposed us and are willing to talk about it, guaranteeing the peace and security of the Gabonese, promoting the free expression of points of view, and strengthening national unity—those are the tasks that the party must buckle down to at the moment.

We must mobilize to see that the PDG again becomes the organization it has always been: capable of creating mass movements and guiding them and capable of giving each Gabonese faith and confidence in the country's future.

Just as we did during the years from 1973 to 1976, we must give our militants the opportunity to educate themselves by organizing major debates in the form of conferences or seminars. Those debates must be concerned, I repeat, with all issues affecting national and international life.

Many comrades have rightly complained that all the abilities available to us on the Central Committee have not been used during the past three years.

We must, therefore, think about the need to set up the Central Committee's standing committees. It seems important to me that those committees be able, whenever necessary, to open up to any compatriot in a position to contribute to the enrichment of the national debate on all issues dealt with.

With the return of the Party Cadre School to its first calling, the political training of our militants and especially our leading cadres will have to take place under the best conditions. I am thinking basically of the members of the section bureaus and committees and of the leading cadres in the specialized organizations.

Within a few months, the Gabonese people will be called to the ballot box to elect their representatives in the National Assembly.

The new election code that will be in effect for those elections includes a number of important innovations.

In each electoral district, there will have to be a plurality of lists. Provided that they consist solely of Gabonese Democratic Party militants, all those lists will have to be assembled by the sections and sent directly to the Political Bureau.

The lists will be voted on by direct universal suffrage. I hope that these elections will give our militants the opportunity to again make good use of democracy and that the campaign will be conducted on specific issues, without personal attacks.

The country must have a dynamic National Assembly capable of questioning the government at any time on all issues affecting the life of the nation.

Deputies are the representatives of the people who elect them. That being the case, they do not have to render an accounting to anyone except the party that gave them their powers and the people who elected them to the National Assembly. The ministers must stop regarding the deputies from their departments as their straw men.

The party must see to it that the deputies play their roles in complete independence. We must all think about improving the quality of our National Assembly, just as special attention must be paid to upgrading the status of the deputies.

A worthy and respectable National Assembly is palpable proof of the nation's vitality and of the maturity of our democracy. This will force the government to be more rigorous and transparent in its activity.

In the debate on democracy, the activity of the press seems indispensable to me. Sizable sums have been made available to our press organs. Encouraging changes affecting both the quality of analyses and the variety of events in society that are dealt with have been noted. I urge all our journalists to continue along that path while respecting the freedom of others and avoiding slander, personal attacks, and sensationalism. A free, worthy, and responsible press constitutes a guarantee that our democracy will be strengthened and grow.

Comrades,

Since 1986, our country has been experiencing the most serious economic and financial crisis in its history. At the third ordinary congress and during the election campaign, as you know, I made the nation aware of the imminence of that crisis and of the need for us to mobilize to meet it.

We signed a 25-month structural adjustment program with the IMF in November 1986, and along with that, the government took drastic steps to face up to the situation.

Our people made tremendous sacrifices in a calm and dignified manner. I would like to take this opportunity to again pay very special tribute to all Gabonese who placed their confidence in me and accepted those sacrifices in the general interest.

Although experiencing a crisis, we have regularly paid our employees as in the past and lived up to our commitments.

The last program that we signed with the IMF and that ended in December 1988, improved the overall situation considerably as far as the major equilibriums were concerned. We have just signed a new program that will expire in 1991. I am convinced that everything will be better two years from now, but it is an illusion to think that we can return to the situation that existed before 1986.

Rigor must continue. We are aware that structural adjustment programs are accompanied by sizable sacrifices on the national and social levels. But we have no other choice.

The lessons we have learned from this crisis are many. Diversification of our economy is more topical than ever. From now on, we will have to favor investments that create jobs and think about setting up a coherent national and regional development policy.

The 1990-1992 program law includes important measures with respect to agriculture, roads, the PME [small and medium-size enterprises], and reform of the parastatal sector.

Since the Trans-Gabonese Railroad is now operational, it is essential to begin building and maintaining our road network at once.

Development of the productive agricultural, industrial, and forest sectors, the profitability of the railroad, and the strengthening of national unity through interprovincial trade depend on it. The next decade must be the decade of roads and agriculture.

It is also essential to resume the construction and rehabilitation of schools, dispensaries, and hospitals so as to markedly improve the situation in those vital sectors. Their situation has deteriorated during the first three years of the crisis.

We have benefited in the past from sizable financial resources. The extent of our priorities, which was linked to our desire to get our country's economic takeoff quickly under way, kept us from saving much. I believe that in the future, we will have to correct that error, and that is why I have already issued instructions to establish a reserve and investment fund in which any surplus funds available to the state will be placed.

The Gabonese people must give up their penchant for the easy way out and go to work with a will. Only an effort by all of us at all levels will enable us to get out of this crisis and start again on the right foot.

I draw the attention of the government and the enterprises to the importance of scrupulously obeying employment legislation and giving priority to Gabonese—in short, to nationals—in their hiring.

In another connection, it is particularly scandalous to note that at a time when the country is experiencing a serious crisis and when many compatriots are living under difficult conditions, some officials have become famous for shameless racketeering, embezzlement, or the taking of bribes. Even more serious, some have started counterfeiting money. Those are criminal attitudes that we cannot tolerate. This frantic race to get rich by any means—and chiefly at the expense of the community—leads cadres to seek, above all, those positions where they can manage budget credits.

How can we build the country with behavior like that? This corruption, which affects young and old, even manifests itself within our security forces.

We have the pressing duty to strengthen the state of law. I have already asked that the Penal Code be revised to make it more severe. It is necessary to pay more attention than ever to transparency in the management of our sparse resources. The supervising organizations must be strengthened, and the government must assume its responsibilities.

When someone commits an act of dishonesty in this country, we see a peculiar attitude on the part of administrative officials or ministers, who refuse to crack down, either through weakness or perhaps out of self-interest. The president is expected to solve all problems. So what are the government and the administration for?

And here I would like to tell you once again that the president of the republic is not God; he is a human being who makes mistakes and errors and who because of that has surrounded himself with a party and a government, and that party has some very good cadres. If it is not the prime minister and head of government, then it is the president of the republic. Especially in a time of crisis such as this. All those plots being fomented here and there have their origin in the crisis. Because there is a crisis, those involved want to take advantage of that crisis to try to harm the state, to try to infiltrate the security forces, and to do everything necessary to cause people to become discouraged.

And because the main target is the president of the republic, who must be assassinated, I don't complain. But when they attack me on the political level, I will respond. And that is why I have said that the days of shoving everything off on the president of the republic are over. I have said that the government of the republic exists to solve certain problems within its purview, and that is why I would like to say that during this meeting by

the Central Committee, everything must be done, everything must be said, and you must get to the bottom of the problems, which are those of our country.

Do not skim over any problem and do not ignore any problem, because this is the time—now or never—when each of you must speak and say what you think. I have always said, and I repeat it now, that the strength of a democracy resides not in multipartyism but in the faith one has in the future of one's country. That is courage. It is the will that each of us must have to say what he is thinking. Even if what he says is not really welcome. The essential thing is that he has said what was on his mind. So say what is on your mind and work. I will not be here with you. That is because people have always been afraid of the president. But the president has always allowed anyone who wishes to speak to do so.

I have always been opposed to personal attacks: the discredit that is cast on members of the government, prominent figures, and party and state leaders. I do not like personal attacks—when people attack ministers on the professional level or a leader on the basis of his responsibilities and go into his private life, which is something that is none of their business. That is provocation.

Gabon is our country. It is up to us to make this country what we want it to be and, above all, what we can make it be. But for the better and in the general interest. So this is the time to criticize the government and advise the prime minister as to what he should do, because I do not need to tell you that the choices that will result from this session will be, to put it briefly, the program for government action.

To govern is to foresee, and it is time for us to take our inspiration from what is happening around us and throughout the world. That is why I have told you that during this meeting by the Central Committee, we must rethink all our problems and review our entire way of doing things—the way we act. Far from copying what is done elsewhere, we must take our inspiration from the best examples.

I said before, during my speech last 16 August, that there were no problems between old and young in this country. We need one as much as the other, and the better we are able to exploit the qualities of each generation, the stronger our country will be.

Just as we must not cast discredit on those who have rendered tremendous service to the country simply because they have grown old, so we must see to it that more and more responsibility is given to our young people. A regime that turns its young people against it is doomed to failure. This is a very natural matter of the young generations taking over from the old.

We must give each person his chance instead of always closing the door to young people with the argument that they lack experience.

I also hope to see greater job mobility in our enterprises and administrative departments.

Young people must understand that responsibility is given only to reliable, humble, and hardworking people.

I encourage our young people to consider the need to establish typically Gabonese design offices. Gabonization is also necessary in that sector.

On the subject of young people, I am very concerned by two things:

The first is the extent of unemployment among university graduates. That is why I have issued two orders establishing funds to find employment for young graduates. Implementation of those texts, with the appropriate funds being provided, should enable us to solve this problem to some extent.

My second concern has to do with the marked lack of interest that young Gabonese show in their studies. The changes taking place in the world demand that we provide our young people with training that is appropriate to our development needs and increasingly professional. Our young people must realize their responsibility and understand how important it is for them to be studious, disciplined, and aware of their role.

In this connection, the UJPDG [Union of Youth of the Gabonese Democratic Party] must truly take its mission of guiding young people to heart. When I say that young people are sacred, I do so not out of demagoguery or sentimentalism but because the future of this country will depend on the quality and abilities of its young people.

We have invested a great deal in education and training, and even though the rapid growth of the school-age population is posing a few problems because of insufficient plants and an inadequate number of teachers, the country must make the most of that investment. To do that, it is advisable to reflect again on the question of how well training is adapted to employment needs.

The way in which we have solved the problem of pensions, both at the state level and through the Social Security Fund, is not satisfactory, although the situation in the Ministry of Finance seems to have improved. The current structures are being overwhelmed by the ever-increasing number of pension applicants.

Far from being a kind of punishment, retirement constitutes a well-earned rest after a very active life.

How can we expect people to retire when the first ones to do so cannot even collect their pensions? This is an important issue, and it is linked directly to that of employment for young people.

I hope that in the course of this meeting, the Central Committee will be able to engage in reflection concerning the best way to make our pension and social



security systems efficient and to propose a reorganization of the CNSS [National Social Security Fund], the CNGS [expansion unknown], and the Pension Department of the Ministry of Finance.

In view of the current drop in household purchasing power and the adoption of a policy deregulating prices and profits, you should also make a thorough analysis of the nature of the inequalities existing in our society and come up with policies designed to gradually reduce the most glaring of them.

Not all of the problems in the functioning of our administration that were denounced at the third ordinary congress have disappeared.

Professional competitive examinations are no longer being held, apparently because of a lack of funds.

Computerization of the Civil Service has not solved the problem of automatic advancement and the granting of tenure.

Budget management by the Ministry of Finance requires transparency as to the actual budget items allocated to each department.

How can we improve the quality of service in our administration? That is still a topical question. We must provide a rapid answer.

I have said on several occasions that people's lives and homes are inviolable. In recent years, perhaps because of the crisis, the number of armed attacks, foul murders related to witchcraft, muggings, and thefts has increased in our society. Those practices, which are contrary to our morals and our customs, have been imported, of course. Our borders are too open, so our people must redouble their vigilance.

Our security forces do their duty with honor, dedication, and courage when it comes to protecting people and property, but much remains for us to do, and the Gabonese must realize that security is everyone's business. No one is above the law; the checkpoints set up by the security forces are good, not bad.

Important changes in the international situation are taking place. Peace has made tremendous progress in most hot spots. Taking shape everywhere is a general trend toward a calming of regional conflicts, and a spirit of dialogue and detente now seems to be ruling relations between the big powers.

The peoples are expressing their aspiration for more freedom and well-being everywhere. In my opinion, we must analyze all those situations lucidly and draw the necessary conclusions in terms of our own concerns.

I am delighted at what is happening in Namibia, and I hope that the situation in South Africa will move rapidly in favor of the black majority.

Our foreign policy, based on the search for peace and understanding among peoples, is continuing as vigorously as before.

We are trying in a completely disinterested manner to make our contribution to the settlement of a number of conflicts in our subregion, notably in Chad and Angola.

As resolute advocates of peace, we support all initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement in the various hot spots around Africa and in the world.

We are maintaining and developing our policy of all-around cooperation. In that connection, I am happy to take this opportunity to salute the signing of the Fourth Lome Convention between the EEC and the ACP [African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries]. Dialogue has finally won out over confrontation, and although the ACP countries did not get everything they wanted, that agreement constitutes a model of North-South cooperation.

The establishment of vast economic communities is imperative everywhere as being the only means of salvation for national economies. It is, therefore, important that everything possible be done to strengthen the UDEAC [Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa] and to make the CEAAC [expansion unknown] operational.

Comrades,

Our Central Committee must give thought, as I have said, to the changes needed in our party and our country on the basis of everything I have just reported to you.

The militants must emerge from this meeting galvanized both by the determination to alleviate our shortcomings and by the hope of succeeding with our economic and social development.

To those who thought that the party was declining, that the party was no longer equal to its job, and that the party was no longer the party that existed in 1968, I say this: I would like for you to understand what I am saying and to know once and for all that when I established this party, as I have said, I was not thinking of myself, Bongo—I was not thinking about a personal political action. I did it in the interest of our country. The idea of establishing a party was mine. Now it is up to all of us to make this the crucible of national unity—to make it the leitmotiv of our policy and of all that we must do in this country.

Because it is with the party that we will strengthen national unity, combat social inequalities, and do violence to ourselves. It is also with the party that we must struggle on all fronts against tribalism, regionalism, and provincialism. Because believe me, when people talk to you about multipartyism, I am not basically opposed to it. But if someday we have to think about multipartyism, it may not be a matter of two or three parties. There will be several of them, and when that happens, we will find that those who are talking about multipartyism today

may be the smallest and the most crushed of the lot because they did not realize where the happiness of the Gabonese people was to be found. From 1968 until now, I feel, comrades, that we have accomplished a great deal. But when someone has bad faith and is moved by consuming ambition, he refuses even to acknowledge the truth. I have said, and I repeat, that every time someone shows me one finger, I will show him two, three, four, and five fingers. And after showing him my five fingers, which stand for the five letters in my name and the five letters in Gabon, well, then we will take action. But until we have counted one, two, three, four, five, let us not act.

The other day, while we were in Oyem, a comrade thought he was saying a lot when he talked about the existence of self-interested informers, subversion, and brainwashing in the country and wanted to know what the government was doing about it: what the president was doing about it. I know that there are tracts. I know that there are brochures. But there is a time for everything. Maybe I have reached number four. I still have to get to number five before taking action, but we will take action if we have to. We will act in dignity and with understanding. Because I have said that "no one will push me into the camp of the dictators." We are not afraid to open up the PDG to anyone who wants to get his feet wet in politics. People must understand that it is together that we will achieve happiness for this country; it is in unity that we will achieve happiness for this country. Because united we will progress, but disunited we will regress.

Comrades, I would like once again—one more time—for us to have confidence in each other. Because we are afraid [Why are we afraid—possibly intended] to accept this or that responsibility? Because we are afraid to punish. If we do not punish—if we do not set examples—what will happen to our society tomorrow? What will happen to the republic? I think that when one has worked hard for one's country, one should not retreat from any danger. And when I became chief of state, I was able to assume my responsibilities, and I will always assume them. Those who think that Bongo is going to resign tomorrow are mistaken. Those who think that little tracts or libelous statements here and there are going to make me, Bongo, lose sleep are mistaken. Those who think that attacks on my private life are going to discourage me are mistaken. Because it is in adversity that I find my strength; let everyone understand that. The more I am attacked and the more people talk about me, the more alive and strong I feel. And I say thank God, people are thinking about me. The more I am completely ignored, the more I begin asking myself whether I have been buried yet. That is why, as a son must identify with his father, so colleagues must identify with their leader. You must identify with your leader. No panic, no fear, and no dictatorship: we must be able to put our ideas across rather than imposing them. We must be able to listen. We must succeed in becoming reconciled with that small minority that understands nothing.

We have given them too much time. And within that minority, there are people who despite everything are honest with themselves.

But what do they want if not to administer the state's affairs—if not, as I have said, to manage budget credits? What more do they want in this country? The president's job or a minister's job? Perhaps, but all things considered, I frankly do not feel that there is a problem in this country. But the problem is you and your imagination. Because there is a strike somewhere, people start trembling. Because there is a little tract here or there, people start looking around and digging holes to hide in. No, we recognize the right to strike. It is these wildcat strikes that we do not want.

So while calling upon you to do good work, I declare this meeting by the Central Committee open so that the Gabonese Democratic Party may live.

Long live the republic!  
Thank you.

#### \* PDG Central Committee Resolutions Reported

34190063A Libreville L'UNION  
in French 15, 16 Jan 90

[Political, social, and economic resolutions approved by the Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party at a special session held in Libreville on 11, 12, and 13 January 1990]

[15 Jan pp 7-8]

[Text]

#### Resolutions of General Policy Committee

##### I. Functioning of Party

Considering that at the present stage of Gabon's political, economic, and social development, only a single party can make it possible to guarantee national unity, cohesion, and solidarity as well as peace, the stability of our institutions, and the harmonious development of our country;

Considering that in 22 years of existence, the Gabonese Democratic Party [PDG] has proved its unity and effectiveness;

Considering, however, that since the third ordinary congress, a distinct slowdown has been observed in the party's action and activity at all levels, particularly that of the national organs (Permanent Secretariat, Political Bureau, and Central Committee);

Having analyzed the underlying causes of that slowdown, chiefly the following:

- The party's insufficient material and financial resources and their poor management, which is paralyzing the party at all levels (Permanent Secretariat,



federation, and the party's rank-and-file organs and organizations);

- Shortcomings on the part of individuals responsible for leading the party at the various levels (plurality of offices, unavailability, lack of training, and so on);
- Failure to effectively implement the party's resolutions and decisions, which have not always been reflected in government policy;

Considering that the challenges we are facing demand that we have a strong, living, and unifying party that is open to all Gabonese of every condition and all opinions;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in special session in Libreville on 11, 12, and 13 January 1990;

Requests that the our great comrade, the chairman-founder, reshuffle the Permanent Secretariat and Political Bureau of the party;

Requests that the government provide the party with the financial and material resources necessary for its action and that it strengthen controls over the use of those resources;

Recommends that from now on, holding party and government offices concurrently be avoided and, in particular, that positions in the party's Permanent Secretariat be held by persons with no other responsibility, particularly government responsibility, the purpose being to improve the effectiveness of party work;

Urges the party organs in charge of supervising and following up on government action to be more rigorous and diligent in their work so as to promote effective implementation of the party's resolutions and decisions as part of the government program;

Encourages the government to continue its efforts to rehabilitate and to reorganize our economy and finances so as to permit improvement of our people's living conditions;

Calls upon the party's Permanent Secretariat to strengthen the political training of militants, particularly cadres in the party's rank-and-file organs and specialized organizations, through the sponsoring of more conferences, seminars, and symposiums as well as through the Party Cadre School.

## II. Party Democracy

Concerned to preserve and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Gabonese people within a single party open to all;

Noting that that unity is still fragile and threatened by the actions of well-known tribalists and unrepentant ambitious persons who are unconcerned about national unity and quick to cover up political debate by intimidation, threats, and other antidemocratic methods;

Aware of the importance of open debate, which alone is capable of limiting the abuses noted and increasing the effectiveness of our administration and management;

Concerned to put an end to the tendency to escape all objective criticism and deserved punishment by hiding behind the chairman-founder and, instead of serving him, to use him in an effort to make him the shield for the dishonest and for militants with no political commitment;

Noting the aspiration of the Gabonese for more freedom, democracy, and well-being so that they can develop fully;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in special session in Libreville on 11, 12, and 13 January 1990;

Is pleased with the progress achieved by the Gabonese Democratic Party in building a democratic society that respects human rights and basic individual freedoms;

Requests that the chairman-founder, the Political Bureau, and the Permanent Secretariat promote the establishment of pluralism of ideas within the party;

Points out that such pluralism is not synonymous with multipartyism and recommends that it be studied by an ad hoc committee to consist of the members of the Central Committee and of militants chosen by the chairman-founder;

Confirms that the Gabonese Democratic Party is a single party within which steps must be taken to organize political competition and to reach that consensus, which is indispensable for meeting the new challenges of our time and establishing more transparency in actions by authorities.

## III. Functioning of Administration

The Central Committee, meeting in special session in Libreville on 11, 12, and 13 January 1990;

Recalling the resolutions and decisions of the third ordinary congress held on 17, 18, 19, and 20 September 1986;

Recognizing the improvements made by the government in the functioning of the administration;

Saluting the competence and seriousness demonstrated by a number of the state's senior cadres on both the national and the international level;

Considering, moreover, the persistence of the evils and deficiencies that are constantly being reported, namely, corruption, political racketeering, absenteeism, and the misappropriation of public property and funds;

Deploping the failure by some officials to enforce laws and regulations, the absence of sanctions, the crisis in

authority, the nonexistence of normalization and rationalization with respect to public buildings, equipment, and housing accommodation, and the obstruction of personnel advancement;

Encourages the government to persist in its effort to be more selective in the cadres it appoints and to expose and punish those responsible for the misappropriation of public property and funds;

Condemns the politicization of appointments to administrative and technical positions;

[Condemns] the laxity of officials responsible for ensuring the enforcement of laws and regulations;

Recommends reactivation of the advisory committee and the joint committees of the Civil Service and the resumption of competitive examinations for the filling of positions;

[Recommends] that better use be made of technical and administrative cadres by assigning them to positions appropriate to their training;

[Recommends] reactivation of the disciplinary committees within the ministries;

[Recommends] transparency in the administration of budget items, meaning in practice that the Ministry of Civil Service and every ministerial department concerned will know which budget items are in fact allocated to it;

[Recommends] the rational mobility of government employees and high officials occupying positions of leadership in the ministries and parastatal enterprises;

[Recommends] the establishment of a technical committee to be in charge of normalizing and rationalizing public buildings and equipment so as to avoid the situation in which some are overequipped and others lack even the bare minimum needed to ensure their operation;

[Recommends] that the state's role be strengthened and that these conclusions be followed up.

#### IV. International Situation and Foreign Policy

Considering developments in the international situation since the third ordinary congress—a situation characterized on the one hand by a general trend toward detente and a cooling of regional conflicts and, on the other, by the aspiration of peoples for more freedom and well-being;

Noting with satisfaction the distinguished positive role played by the chairman-founder in the peaceful settlement of certain conflicts;

Considering the economic crisis that holds sway around the world and that has led to upheavals in certain countries;

Considering that our country is experiencing the same difficulties;

Noting that those difficulties of an economic nature are leading the peoples to feel a stronger aspiration for freedom and democracy, with that aspiration being reflected more especially in greater participation by the people in the management of public affairs;

Concerned by the need for all of the country's sons to participate in the work of national construction;

Noting also that economic crises have always been the main cause of the collapse of political systems;

Convinced of the need to retain the single party, which has made it possible to strengthen national unity and achieve the tremendous progress noted in our country;

Aware of the developments within our country and of the changes abroad;

Noting with great concern the calling into question of the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states;

Having noted with great satisfaction the establishment of a permanent committee for analysis and forecasting to be in charge of monitoring Gabon's foreign policy;

Noting, however, that despite the reminder from the third ordinary congress in its Resolution No. 2, the said committee has never begun functioning;

Considering the missions assigned to the National Secretariat for Foreign Relations and their complementarity with the action of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation;

Aware of the need to revitalize the activities of the National Secretariat for Foreign Relations;

Considering the strengthening of the major economic communities in the Western countries and the interest shown by those same countries in the Eastern countries and other areas that they consider most promising;

The Central Committee, meeting in special session in Libreville on 11, 12, and 13 January 1990;

1. Pays special tribute to our great comrade for the role he continually plays on the international scene and encourages him to continue his efforts to promote international peace and security.
2. Recommends that the government analyze the events in question and that it draw the necessary conclusions.
3. Recommends that the militants adapt better to the changes in thinking and promote greater openness, which is the necessary condition for fully integrating this country's adults and young people into the process of building the nation.
4. Asks the government to reaffirm our attachment to the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states.

5. Reaffirms the importance of the Permanent Committee for Analysis and Forecasting, which is responsible for monitoring Gabon's foreign policy, and once again calls upon the Office of the President of the Republic, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, the Ministry of Finance, Budget, and Participations, and the General Secretariat of the government to immediately take all necessary steps for its functioning.
6. Recommends that everything possible be done to ensure the smooth operation of that committee.
7. Suggests that the government adopt a series of supplementary measures aimed at strengthening individual freedoms.
8. Earnestly requests that the government do everything possible to strengthen and vitalize the subregion's economic communities.

#### Resolutions of Social Policy Committee

##### I. Housing

1. Referring to the resolution on housing as approved at the Third PDG Ordinary Congress, which met in Libreville on 17, 18, 19, and 20 September 1986, and particularly its statement that housing constitutes a social factor contributing to the development of the family unit and the stability of our institutions;
2. Noting that implementation of that resolution has begun, particularly as regards the legal protection of tenants in dealing with their landlords (Law No. 15/88 dated 30 December 1988, establishing legal rules for the leasing of residential buildings and mixed residential/commercial buildings);
3. Noting also the holding of the symposium on "reflections concerning a new approach to housing policy" that was held in Libreville on 15 and 16 October 1988;
4. Considering the effects of the enduring crisis, which is forcing a slowdown in programs for the state-financed construction of low-cost housing;
5. Considering the specific nature of the type of financing for low-cost housing;
6. Considering the existence of institutional investors (the National Social Security Fund [CNSS] and the insurance companies), which may have suitable funds;

The PDG Central Committee, meeting in special session in Libreville from 11 to 13 January 1990;

Recommends to the government that it:

1. Continue to implement the resolution in question.
2. Provide the appropriate funds, particularly through budget appropriations; unconditional allocation of the tax on rents, which was originally intended to finance low-cost housing; and unconditional use of the tax on property in mortmain to keep housing costs at levels compatible with the incomes of beneficiaries;
3. Mobilize savings, both public and private (households, insurance companies, and the CNSS), by

- adopting the appropriate regulations;
4. Reformulate the low-cost housing policy.

##### II. Labor and Employment

Considering the matters referred to in the chairman-founder's speech as regards employment, labor, vocational training, and human resources;

Considering the resolutions on labor, employment, vocational training, and human resources as adopted at the Third Congress of the Gabonese Democratic Party meeting in Libreville on 17, 18, 19, and 20 September 1986;

Considering the deterioration of the labor market as a result of the economic and financial crisis that has lasted since 1986;

The Central Committee, meeting in special session in Libreville from 11 to 13 January 1990;

Urges the government to adopt the necessary measures for creating new jobs, particularly by establishing regional development companies of a cooperative nature, and to continue its efforts for the development of PME [small and medium-size enterprises] and PMI [small and medium-size industries];

Recommends that the government gradually eliminate the informal sector, which is a factor in the diversion of jobs and tax resources;

Asks that the government systematize its policy on vocational training by objectives so as to match training with employment;

Urges the government to enforce scrupulous compliance with the law as regards the regulation of labor and working conditions;

Notes with satisfaction the implementation of certain social resolutions of the third congress, especially the following:

- Orders No. 15 and 16 relative to the protection of workers (prior authorization for dismissal).
- The training of labor inspectors through retraining seminars.

Reaffirms the right to strike in the Gabonese Republic while condemning wildcat strikes;

Recommends that the government do everything possible to enforce compliance with the regulations in effect concerning the right to strike;

Urges the government to ensure strict implementation of all the recommendations of the third ordinary congress as regards labor, employment, vocational training, and human resources;

Issues a pressing appeal to all militants to change their mentality by accepting any available job so as to facilitate their own vocational placement, both in the urban and in the rural areas.

### III. Health

Recalling the recommendations of the Third PDG Ordinary Congress meeting in Libreville from 17 to 20 September 1986, more especially those relating to health problems, and having noted the efforts already made by the government to set up a definite action program in this field, notably the following:

- The appointment of a follow-up committee intended to strengthen the new guidelines with respect to primary health care.
- The training of administrative employees and so on.

Taking into account the perverse effects of the worldwide economic and financial crisis, which is in no way sparing Gabon, and also the government's expressed will to complete the work begun as soon as economic and financial conditions make it possible;

The PDG Central Committee, meeting in special session in Libreville from 11 to 13 January 1990;

1. Repeats its request that the government continue its efforts to improve the living environment and working conditions of health workers at all levels.
2. Encourages government action to implement the new guidelines with respect to primary health care.
3. Is pleased with the strengthening of the policy for decentralizing services, material resources, and the responsibility of health workers.
4. Asks that the program for establishing provincial pharmacies be continued.
5. Recommends better coordination among all the sectors involved, notably the military health service, social security, and sports and school medicine.
6. Recommends implementation of the plan for setting up a national blood transfusion center.
7. Also recommends better medical coverage of the population, particularly government employees, students, and school employees.
8. Encourages the government to continue its efforts to provide management training for health workers and to strengthen the control mechanisms.
9. Recommends the effective resumption of activity already begun as regards investment in infrastructure and equipment, the provision of suitable maintenance funds, and the acquisition of service vehicles and ambulances for the country's interior.
10. Is pleased with the implementation of scientifically recognized rules for medical evacuation and recommends that strict compliance continue.
11. Recommends that the government strengthen and support actions already begun in cooperation with the World Health Organization (WHO) and other donor organizations to combat the scourges represented in particular by AIDS and mental illness.

12. Reiterates the recommendations of previous congresses concerning the need for a harmonious distribution of medical personnel among all the provinces.
13. Recommends that from now on, the Ministry of Public Health as a recognized priority sector, be allocated a budget equivalent to 10 percent of GDP [gross domestic product], as stipulated by the WHO, to enable it to pursue its activities successfully.

### IV. Social Security

Referring to the recommendations of the Third PDG Ordinary Congress held in Libreville on 17, 18, and 20 September 1986;

Considering the concerns expressed by the chairman-founder of the PDG in his opening speech at the special session of the Central Committee concerning the problem of social security benefits and particularly pensions;

Considering the central role assigned to social security in achieving our goals of national solidarity;

Referring to the missions entrusted to our social welfare institutions in seeking greater social justice;

The Central Committee, meeting in special session from 11 to 13 January 1990, recommends that the government:

1. Proceed immediately to harmonize our various social security systems and, in particular, to assign management of the social security system to officials of the CNGS [expansion unknown].
2. Continue and increase the financial effort being made on behalf of our social security and social welfare organizations to enable them to better fulfill their missions.
3. Reorganize the social security system by adapting it to what is possible in view of our economy and finances while taking into account vested rights, the situation of people on low incomes, and particularly indigents.
4. Pay the premiums on school insurance and mutual insurance policies for the children of people on low incomes, particularly indigents, and to require that the insurers issue a card for each child insured.

[16 Jan pp 6-7]

[Excerpt]

### Resolutions of Economic and Financial Policy Committee

#### I. Economy and Finance

Adopting the concerns of the chairman-founder of the Gabonese Democratic Party as expressed in his opening speech;

Noting that the resolutions and recommendations of the Third Ordinary Congress of the Gabonese Democratic



Party, meeting in Libreville on 17, 18, 19, and 20 September 1986, as regards economic and financial policy have not all been implemented;

Considering the major changes of all kinds that are currently taking place in the world;

Aware of the implications of those changes in the various regions of the globe;

Concerned by the need for our country to adapt to that general course of events;

Following a thorough examination of our country's economic and financial situation;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in special session in Libreville on 11, 12, and 13 January 1990;

Urges the government:

First, to formulate a development strategy in keeping with the specific context of our country, in particular by:

- Appointing an ad hoc committee to recommend measures designed to reduce factor costs.
- Diversifying investments, especially in the productive sectors.
- Further developing trade and services that require a low initial investment and generate maximum profits.
- Encouraging nationals to form partnerships for the establishment of firms.
- Mobilizing savings with a view to increasing financing for the economy and, in addition, establishing a reserve and investment fund.

Second, to enforce rigorous management of public affairs by:

- Putting the right man in the right place—that is, choosing men who are responsible, honest, competent, capable, and efficient.
- Requiring systematic controls and strengthening internal and external control organizations by providing them with adequate human and material resources as well as with the guarantees of protection required for the exercise of their duties.
- Making the various state budgets subject to parliamentary control through enforcement of the law on budget regulation.
- Refraining from interference with the prerogatives of the legal authorities in the enterprises.
- Demanding scrupulous compliance with the procedure governing the awarding of government contracts.
- Using disciplinary and legal means to punish, with no exception whatever, those responsible for poor management, the misappropriation of public funds, financial malfeasance, or illegal enrichment and those convicted of counterfeiting.

Third, to decentralize budget management by assigning responsibility to the various government departments as a means of ensuring greater efficiency in services.

Fourth, to continue efforts to kindle a new economic outlook through:

- Effective enforcement of program contracts, laws and regulations, and all other measures for the adjustment and reorganization of public finance that have been adopted.
- Rationalization of pay in the civil service.
- The elimination of assimilations.
- The upgrading of technical positions.
- Development of the national economic space.
- The strengthening of subregional economic integration.

## II. Agriculture, Water, and Forests

Considering that by the will of the president of the republic, chief of state, and chairman-founder of the Gabonese Democratic Party, the coming decade is to be the decade of agriculture and roads;

Considering the extent of the rural exodus and the inability of existing facilities to cope with the situation;

Considering the relevant recommendations of the Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party relative to measures for assisting in the settlement of young people with a view to persuading them to return to the land;

Considering the country's very heavy dependence on other countries for its food supplies;

Considering the agricultural sector's minuscule contribution to the gross domestic product;

Considering that a major share of the annual credits allocated to agriculture and stockraising has been used to set up agroindustrial units, with little being provided for the development of village agriculture;

Considering the basic role of agronomic research and vocational training in the process of rationalizing farming methods and systems;

Considering that the poor condition—indeed the nonexistence—of roads constitutes a major obstacle to the development of agriculture and particularly to the marketing of agricultural products;

Considering the traditional role of forestry in the national economy and the role it is destined to play in the future;

Considering the importance of our wildlife and ocean fishing resources, as well as the considerable economic advantages to be drawn from them by our country;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in Libreville from 11 to 14 January 1990;

In the area of agriculture and stockraising:

Recommends that the PDG and the government mobilize all the living forces of the nation, particularly its young people, with a view to promoting their return to the land;

Recommends that the reaffirmed political will favoring the priority development of agriculture be reflected both in the allocation to that sector of annual credits consonant with the real expressed needs and in the promotion of economic and social measures favoring that sector;

Recommends that a significant portion of those annual appropriations be used in such a way as to promote the modernization of family farms;

Recommends that planning for the development of the agricultural sector take into account the imperative need to ensure the nation's independence with respect to food supplies;

Recommends the vigorous promotion of export operations with a view to substantially increasing the agricultural sector's share of national wealth;

Recommends that national agronomic research be restructured by establishing a single organization to administer that research;

Would like to see the establishment of a rural vocational training center for each major ecological area;

Recommends that the existing road network be improved and that access trails be opened and regularly maintained.

In the field of water, forests, and national parks:

Calls upon the government to do everything possible to carry out the recommendations issued by the Third PDG Ordinary Congress, notably by continuing to establish the appropriate legal and administrative means and instruments.

### III. Roads and Social Facilities

Considering that infrastructure in all its forms remains the basis of all development;

And that roads occupy a preponderant place in that infrastructure in view of their inestimable contribution to the development of both domestic and international trade, the marketing of products, and the strengthening of national unity;

And that the setting up of a consistent policy of national and regional planning is closely linked to the existence of a reliable road network;

Considering, moreover, the priority assigned by the PDG to sociocultural development and the health of the Gabonese people;

And considering, lastly, the increasingly obvious need to ensure that the gains of the Renewal are preserved;

The Central Committee, meeting in special session in Libreville on 11, 12, 13, and 14 January 1990;

Congratulates our great comrade, the chairman-founder of the PDG, on having:

- Initiated the 1990-1992 program law, which devotes particular attention to roads;
- Decided that the coming decade will be the decade of roads and agriculture, and;
- Entered into new commitments with international financial institutions with a view to rehabilitating a significant portion of the national road network.

Calls upon the government to:

- Bring road construction studies up to date and prepare a multiannual construction program so as to provide our country with a permanent asphalted road network linking the provincial capitals with the national capital.
- Set up road maintenance units in all of the republic's departments [administrative subdivisions] and modernize those that already exist.
- Prepare and carry out within a reasonable time a program for the construction and rehabilitation of schools, dispensaries, and hospitals throughout the territory of the republic.
- Study the possibility of establishing a general delegation or office to be responsible for maintaining and preserving state property in the form of roads and buildings, with the said delegation or office to be independent of the ministries and provided with the necessary means of carrying out its mission.
- Study other possibilities for financing and maintaining the road network, notably by the adoption of a system for granting private firms concessions for building and maintaining roads.

### IV. Transportation, Equipment, and Infrastructures

Recalling the resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Third Ordinary Congress of the Gabonese Democratic Party held in Libreville on 17, 18, 19, and 20 September 1986 with respect to transportation, equipment, and infrastructures;

Noting that since that time, nothing has been done in those areas;

[The Central Committee] calls upon the government:

To focus its efforts, following completion of the railroad network, on the program for constructing other infrastructures, especially roads, and to do so by allocating a very significant percentage of budget funds to that purpose.

1. As regards ports:

- To promote measures to make the port of Owendo capable of handling ships of heavy tonnage.
- To take steps to reappraise its site with a view to finding a solution to the problem of silting.



- To promote measures to make the port of Port-Gentil capable of handling increased traffic.
- To bring the study of the port of Mayumba up to date, being careful to recalculate the dimensions of the port.
- To review the management of the port of Owendo so as to avoid a rise in the price of our products and enable OPRAG [Gabon Port and Roadstead Office] to carry out its mission to the full.

2. As regards the CNI [Inland Shipping Company]:

- To ensure its development parallel with that of the road network, because while roads facilitate the movement of people and goods in some provinces, there are others where rivers and lagoons perform that same function.

3. As regards airfields and railroads:

- To reconsider the recommendations and resolutions of the Third Ordinary Congress of the Gabonese Democratic Party.
- To revise rates for the transportation of logs to the extent possible so as not to penalize the forest economy.

4. As regards Air Gabon:

- The government is urged to continue the reorganization program ordered by the board of directors in accordance with the objectives established in the program contract signed between the government and Air Gabon.

5. As regards Sonatram [National Ocean Transport Company]:

- The government is called upon to encourage petroleum and mining companies operating in our country to allow our national shipping firm to participate in the transportation of solid and liquid bulk products extracted from our soil and subsoil.
- The Gabonese Shippers Council is made responsible for regulating and rationalizing ocean transport service to Gabon by reducing, on the basis of available freight, the number of shipping agencies and particularly the number of ships calling at our ports.
- The government is urged to revise certain shipping, technical, and commercial agreements with a view to providing national shippers with more freedom to solicit freight.

6. As regards navigational marks:

- The government is urged to pay special attention to providing our country with a reliable system of navigational marks along with the appropriate means of surveillance.

## V. Energy

Considering that energy and potable water continue to be factors of economic development and social progress, especially in rural areas;

Noting that the rates currently charged for energy and potable water penalize household users and certain economic sectors;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in Libreville from 11 to 14 January 1990;

Encourages the government to continue its effort to provide the entire national territory with electricity, potable water, and sales outlets for petroleum products;

Urges the government to take all possible steps to make energy and potable water rates more competitive;

Calls on the government to provide the public electricity and potable water service with a legal and economic framework within which it will operate more smoothly and with greater transparency from the standpoint of the authorities and the users.

## VI. Trade and Consumption

Recalling that Gabon's development in all sectors, but especially in the economic and commercial sectors, must be controlled chiefly by nationals;

Considering that trade, which has now become a production activity in that it generates wealth for the national community, must contribute increasingly to Gabon's development;

Noting that despite the government's efforts, that sector of the economy remains dominated by foreign interests and operators;

Noting that several foreign economic agents are introducing and developing fraudulent practices that encourage informal trade, which has reached an intolerable level;

Considering that the Gabonese, who are not businessmen by culture, often lack an adequate financial base for financing a business;

Noting that bank financing for businesses is not easily obtained;

Noting that Gabonese consumers are not adequately protected on the legal and practical levels;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in Libreville from 11 to 13 January 1990;

Urgently calls on the government to conduct a drive to determine how motivated the Gabonese are to take charge of economic development in general and of trade in particular;

Calls on the government to encourage nationals to enter the trade sector, especially by setting aside exclusively for them certain sectors and niches of activity still to be determined;

Recommends to nationals that they develop joint ventures;

Recommends that the government join with financial and banking institutions and with economic agents in sponsoring a roundtable for the purpose of examining consistent and successful forms of action;

Urgently appeals to the government to conduct public awareness campaigns that will rally the entire nation and put informal traders and entrepreneurs to rout;

Urgently calls on the government to take suitable steps to protect the Gabonese consumer, in particular by:

- Putting together a legal framework capable of ensuring consumer protection.
- Setting up a system of standards to improve the quality of our products, the competitiveness of our firms, and the protection of consumers.

#### VII. Services

Recalling that Gabon's economic development must be controlled by nationals;

Considering that services, and particularly design offices, tourism, and hotels, play an important role in that development;

Considering that in the areas of infrastructure, civil engineering, and construction, few nationals are associated with the design and evaluation of structures;

Noting that despite the tremendous effort put forth by the government to increase the country's accommodation and lodging facilities, the hotels that have been built are not producing anything in return;

Considering that the tourist industry is a tremendous generator of funds and employment;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in Libreville from 11 to 13 January 1990;

Urges the government to:

1. Take steps to promote the establishment of design offices owned by nationals.
2. Make it compulsory that part of the design market be assigned to design offices owned by nationals.

Recommends:

- The effective establishment of a tourism development plan.
- Full participation by nationals in the management of hotels.
- An easing of the procedures and formalities required of tourists entering and visiting Gabon.

#### VIII. Technology Transfer

Considering that economic development is undergirded by the mastery and application of appropriate technologies;

Noting that our economy, which is not very productive, is characterized by the export of our raw materials in the crude state;

Noting that those raw materials are processed in consumer centers elsewhere where technologies are constantly being modernized;

Noting that our country has no financial interest or personnel in those processing centers or technology research centers;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in special session from 11 to 14 January 1990;

Strongly urges the government to develop sectoral links abroad in areas related to our raw materials (lumber, uranium, petroleum, and manganese);

Urges the government to invest in the following, with its share of capital to be determined;

- Companies that process our raw materials.
- Technology research centers so as to stay informed and be constantly aware of new advances in technological development.

Recommends that the government send or assign qualified national cadres to companies and research centers for specific periods so they can acquire the necessary know-how for the mastery of technological innovations in our country.

#### IX. Small and Medium-Size Enterprises

Considering the important role that small and medium-size enterprises are destined to play in diversifying the national economy, ensuring control of the economic fabric by nationals, and creating jobs;

Considering the establishment of the Fund for the Placement of Young Graduates and the Reintegration of Workers in the Public and Private Sectors and the Fund for the Reintegration of Redundant Workers in the Parastatal Sector as two seedbeds for the establishment of small and medium-size enterprises;

Recalling the resolutions adopted at the Third Ordinary Congress of the Gabonese Democratic Party, particularly as regards access by small and medium-size enterprises to credit and to government contracts and, more generally, the elimination of obstacles to their establishment and development;

Noting that in the specific areas of access to government contracts and access to credit, small and medium-size enterprises are still confronted by certain difficulties;

Noting the low rate of establishment of small and medium-size enterprises in the country's interior and specifically in the rural areas;

The Central Committee of the Gabonese Democratic Party, meeting in Libreville from 11 to 14 January 1990;

Recommends that the government continue its efforts to provide Promogabon [Gabonese Agency for Industrial and Handicraft Promotion] and the Aid and Guarantee Fund with an adequate and regular supply of funds;

Recommends that the government make the Fund for the Placement of Young Graduates and the Reintegration of Workers in the Public and Private Sectors and the Fund for the Reintegration of Redundant Workers in the

Parapublic Sector operational within a reasonable period of time and that it provide them with sizable funds;

Calls on the government to enforce compliance with the provisions of Law No. 1/81 regarding access by small and medium-size enterprises to government contracts;

Recommends that the government induce parastatal institutions for the financing of development to play a bigger role in the financing of small and medium-size enterprises by seeking out appropriate financing sources;

Calls on the government to provide towns in the country's interior with the basic infrastructure needed for the establishment and development of small and medium-size enterprises and to continue its program for decentralizing the structures established to provide the latter with assistance and guidance. [passage omitted]

## Kenya

### Moi Says Multiparty Systems 'Unfit for Africa'

EA2303155290 Nairobi KNA in English 1024 GMT  
23 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 23 Mar—President Daniel arap Moi said today that the conflicts and resultant suffering plaguing some African countries resulted from leaders sticking to personal and selfish principles at the expense of the wider interests of the majority. Noting that peace was central to any development, President Moi said constitutions and principles were useless if they did not guarantee the security of the people. President Moi was holding discussions with the president of the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross], Dr Cornelio Sommaruga, who paid him a courtesy call at State House, Nairobi.

He thanked the Red Cross for their impartiality in areas of conflict and for their assistance to those suffering as a result of wars and natural calamities. The president further thanked the Red Cross for building a hospital in Lokichogio in northern Kenya.

President Moi said most of the conflict in Africa arose out of mistrust and differences among different tribes. He pointed out that multi-party systems were at the moment unfit for Africa since they would be alliances of tribal groupings. With these kinds of alliances, President Moi added, the parties would therefore be expressing tribal sentiments instead of public opinion.

"Starting multi-party systems will definitely trigger off chaotic situations difficult to reverse," said the president.

He said it was an irony for Western countries to dismember African countries along ethnic lines and at the same time expect peaceful multi-party systems. However, the president said, this would be possible only when the ethnic groups were welded together into a cohesive community. Quoting the saying that "it is the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches", President Moi said African leaders had to solve their local problems instead of calling foreigners to do it for them.

He briefed the Red Cross boss on the situation in this region.

Mr Sommaruga praised President Moi for his tireless efforts in bringing about peace in the region. He said by his peace initiatives, President Moi was at the same time bringing peace to the civilian populations in the areas of conflict. Mr Sommaruga appealed to the president to talk to those involved in the areas of conflict in the neighbouring countries to facilitate the flow of food and medical supplies to the civilians. [passage omitted]

### Vice President Says Systems 'Doomed'

EA2903155590 Nairobi Domestic Service  
in English 1830 GMT 28 Mar 90

[From the "Today in Parliament" program]

[Excerpts] The motion on the presidential address on the opening of the third session of the sixth parliament on 13 March sailed through today with the vice president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti, stating that the peace and stability enjoyed in the country was due to the pragmatic and foresighted leadership of President Moi. [passage omitted]

Prof. Saitoti said that multiparty systems were doomed to death in Africa, adding that there should be no parallel between what was happening in Eastern Europe and Africa. He said the one-party system was chosen by all Kenyans, while communism was imposed on the peoples of Eastern Europe. [passage omitted]

Supporting the motion, an assistant minister for health, Mr. Ochola Ogur, said that the creation of a multiparty society in Kenya was dreadful and a step in the wrong direction. He praised KANU [Kenya African National Union] for having developed Kenyans socially, politically, and economically. [passage omitted]

### Red Cross Head Denies Unapproved Sudan Trips

EA2503165490 Nairobi KNA in English  
1105 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Nairobi, 25 March—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) President Cornelio Sommaruga, has denied allegations that ICRC planes had made non-notified trips into southern Sudan. Mr. Sommaruga told newsmen in Nairobi over the weekend that ICRC had noted with great concern of the Red Cross emblem in Sudan [sentence as received].

He stressed that, under the Geneva Convention the use of the protective emblem of the Red Cross was restricted to the personnel and equipment of medical services, national societies, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the ICRC.

Mr. Sommaruga strongly warned against any abuses of the Red Cross emblem by unauthorised persons or agencies. He regretted practice of some NGO's to use logos and emblems deceptively similar to the plain Red Cross in a white field. He called for an immediate stop to abuses, insisting that these endangered the credibility and the lives of those people rightfully using it to provide independent, neutral and impartial help to war victims.

## Somalia

### Army 'Recaptures' Seylac From SNM Rebels

*AB2603134690 Paris AFP in English 1210 GMT  
26 Mar 90*

[Text] Nairobi, March 26 (AFP)—Somali Government troops Monday regained control over the Seylac Region bordering on Djibouti in fights with the rebel Somali National Movement (SNM), diplomatic sources reached from here said.

Sources expected the Army to fight their way through to the border town of Loyada.

The recapture of Seylac came after a major attack last week on SNM positions. The rebels had been in control of the region since May last year.

According to two AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondents who visited the region last November, few rebels were still in the town. Diplomatic sources said rebels offered troops backed by tanks.

Late Sunday the sound of heavy firearms could still be heard from the Djibouti side of Loyada. The border town is situated 25 kilometers (16 miles) from Djibouti's capital city.

Djibouti authorities, fearing a new exodus of refugees from the combat zone, [words indistinct] increased the number of troops on the Somali border which was sealed off as SNM rebels took over control of the region, according to the diplomats.

Authorities also stepped up checks by security forces in Djibouti to ward off clashes between rival ethnic groups from Somalia.

Djibouti President Gouled Aptidon Hassan called a meeting with top military leaders early Monday.

### Somali Armed Forces Chief Tours Northern Area

*EA3003071290 Mogadishu Domestic Service  
in Somali 1700 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] The Chief of General Staff [CGS] of the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] Armed Forces, Comrade Brigadier General Masleh Mohamed Siad, and his delegation, who have been on an official tour of the northern regions of the SDR for the past few days, today arrived in Saylac in Awdal Region. Comrade Brig. Gen. Masleh Mohamed Siad is accompanied by the commander of the SDR Air Defense Force, who is also the commander of the SDR Armed Forces, Brigadier General Said Daud Gudal, and other officers from various units of the SDR Defense Forces. They were welcomed at Saylac by the

security committee, leaders of various social organizations, and religious leaders of the district. The commander of the SDR Armed Forces, Comrade Brig. Gen. Masleh Mohamed Siad and his delegation today toured Loyda and Tokhoshi villages, where they were briefed by the commanders of the 27th and 26th Divisions of the SDR Armed Forces respectively, Comrade Brigadier General Abdiaziz Ali Barre and Colonel Abdullahi Ahmad Jama, on the security situation and the lives of the people in the area.

The CGS of the SDR Armed Forces, Comrade Brig. Gen. Masleh Mohamed Siad, and his delegation, while visiting the area, acquainted themselves with the efforts being made to cement the nation's unity and to assure the general welfare of the members of the Armed Forces stationed there. Addressing various units of the SDR Armed Forces, he urged them to redouble their efforts.

### President Addresses Nation at Start of Ramadan

*EA2903213890 Mogadishu Domestic Service  
in Somali 2045 GMT 28 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] This evening Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Republic, addressed a congratulatory Ramadan message to the Muslim peoples of the world, especially the Somalis who are 100 percent Muslims. Addressing the nation through the country's media, Comrade Siya said Ramadan was superior to other months because it was during Ramadan that the holy Qur'an was revealed. [passage omitted]

Comrade Siad went on to say that now when the Somali people were facing difficulties, especially those affecting their livelihood, economy, and security, we should pray to almighty God to help us overcome these problems in honor of the holy month of Ramadan. [passage indistinct]. Comrade Siad said the government would strive to ensure that peace [words indistinct]. He called on the individuals who still persisted with their lies and evil ways to realize where the interests of the Somali people lay, which was in unity and safeguarding the dignity and honor of the Somali nation.

Dwelling on war and peace, President Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, said peace and stability in the region enabled people to progress toward prosperity. He said evil ways and lies triggered difficulties such as drought, famine, and other disasters. He went on to say that the work of the individual was determined by his positive achievements. It was therefore imperative for every individual to strive to inscribe his name in the golden pages of the nation's history. In conclusion, the president appealed to almighty God to preserve the Muslim nation, and particularly the Somali people, in health and prosperity until next Ramadan.



### **Mandela Comments on Natal, Buthelezi Talks**

*MB3003053690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2117 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] Johannesburg March 29 SAPA—Violence in Natal had created "a life of its own" and at this stage it has crucial [that] the UDF-COSATU [United Democratic Front/Congress of South African Trade Union]-Democratic Front alliance, AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] and Inkatha settled their differences so a solution could be tackled with a united front.

This was said by Deputy ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg on Thursday night, who confirmed he had telephoned the KwaZulu chief minister and president of Inkatha Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela told SAPA in a telephone interview the Inkatha leader had suggested a meeting at 10am on Monday in the Pietermaritzburg area.

The two leaders are to address a joint peace rally in Taylors Halt near Pietermaritzburg on Monday in an attempt to resolve the violence in Natal Province. Mr Buthelezi's office said earlier Thursday. SABC-TV news reported earlier Thursday night the men would have talks before the rally.

The meeting between the two leaders has been described by both of them as "an extraordinary meeting in the interests of resolving the accelerated crisis in Natal".

Mr Mandela said: "This is no time for people with political differences to stand on ceremony. We must unite now in our commitment to end the violence in Natal and work out a strategy we are all united behind publicly.

"Only in this way is there any hope that our commitment to peace will be pursued by all our people at grassroots level."

He said the tragedy of the internecine violence was dividing the people as the government had never successfully done.

"I hope that when we (he and Mr Buthelezi) stand on the platform together and appeal to an end to violence, the people will heed our call," Mr Mandela said.

He said the complexities that had contributed and were still fuelling the violence in Natal should not be overlooked, and pointed to socio-economic factors and the tension that racialistic structures had created.

Mr Mandela said UDF-COSATU and Inkatha regional leaders were liaising with one another at present to sort out details of their meeting and the venue.

### **45 Die in Natal Clashes 'This Week'**

*MB3003090590 Umtata Capital Radio  
in English 0600 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Text] Violence has continued in the Natal midlands with more killings reported. More than 45 people have already been killed in clashes between Inkatha and UDF [United Democratic Front] supporters this week.

ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to address a peace rally in the Edendale area on Monday in a bid to end the violence. However, so far there appears to be no let up in the fighting. Carmel Rickard has the latest.

[Rickard] The latest attack came in Nokokwane area of (Elandskop), a predominantly non-Inkatha area. A nearby (?priest) was called out with an urgent message that several homesteads were burning. Local police did not come after they were called and it was discovered they did not have the key to their vehicle. So, the (?priest) took them to the site of the attack. There, they found an elderly man and some children hiding behind furniture. One of his daughters was lying dead outside with bullet wounds in her chest, under her body was a young child who had miraculously survived.

In another hut on fire nearby, a second daughter was burnt to death. The police said it was (?possible) there were bodies in the other burning homesteads but it was impossible to tell in the dark. In all, some 16 huts were torched in the attack, with all the survivors claiming the attackers were Inkatha supporters from Umpumuzu.

### **De Klerk, Democratic MP's View Natal Violence**

*MB2903202590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2019 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] Cape Town March 29 SAPA—The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, had indicated that serious attention was being given to the situation in Natal by both himself and his cabinet, the DP [Democratic Party] MP [member of Parliament] for Greytown Mr Pierre Cronje said in a statement after a meeting with the president on Thursday.

DP members of parliament from Natal, Mr Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga), Mr Peter Gastrow (Durban Central), Mr Mike Tarr (Pietermaritzburg North), Mr Roger Burrouws (Pinetown) and Mr Cronje met Mr de Klerk to discuss the resurgence of violence in the province.

"In-depth discussions were held about immediate needs as well as ways and means of addressing the problems in the medium and longer term through a comprehensive programme of action.

"We impressed upon him the urgent need for the deployment of more men on the ground to assist in providing basic security."



Further discussions would take place on Friday between the MP's and cabinet ministers to discuss the immediate needs in the afflicted areas.

### 36 Dead in Pietermaritzburg Violence

*MB3003073090 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Text] Reports say that at least 36 people have been killed in violence in the Pietermaritzburg area in the past three days. More than a 140 houses and at least two shops have been burnt down.

SAPA reports that thousands of people are still streaming to schools and community halls at Edendale to escape the violence.

Residents of Scottsville and Hayfields in Pietermaritzburg are collecting provisions for the refugees. Our Durban news staff reports that it was relatively quiet in the black towns outside Pietermaritzburg last night, although shooting was heard in the Edendale and Imbali areas. At least four vehicles were set alight.

More than 50 people have been treated for gunshot wounds in the Edendale hospital during the past few days and about 20 in the Northdale hospital.

Earlier reports said that the minister of law and order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, would consult senior police officers in Pretoria today about the unrest. A spokesman for the minister's office said that several matters concerning the unrest in Natal would be discussed.

### Justice Official Backs Pietermaritzburg Police

*MB2903133490 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1232 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] Cape Town, March 29, SAPA—The deputy minister of justice, Mr. Danie Schutte, said on Thursday it was "totally unconstructive" to accuse the police of being biased in the Pietermaritzburg unrest.

In a statement reacting to allegations by Democratic Party MP's [member of Parliament] about such biased action, he said he was satisfied that the South African Police and the SADF [South African Defense Force] were doing their best to bring the situation to normality.

He appealed to all concerned to cooperate and assist the forces in this regard.

Mr. Schutte said it was clear the present unrest had been sparked off by attacks on buses carrying Inkatha supporters on Sunday.

The commander of the unrest unit, Colonel Fourie, had done his best on Monday to defuse the situation by urging Inkatha supporters not to retaliate.

Road blocks had also been set up to disarm people.

No incidents of unrest had been reported on Thursday morning.

### Three Bombs Explode in Venda; No Injuries

*MB3003082590 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0800 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Text] Johannesburg March 30 SAPA—Three bombs exploded in and around Venda capital Thohoyandou early on Friday morning, completely destroying a Venda MP's [member of Parliament] bottlestore and causing damage to a department of health and community affairs building behind the parliamentary buildings.

A SAPA correspondent reports Vandan president Frank Ravele on Thursday announced a major shake-up of top government officials effective from April 1. A special session of the Venda National Assembly was scheduled for Friday.

Venda Commissioner of Police, General T.R. Mulaudzi, confirmed two bombs exploded at about 1:45am at the bottle store of Vandan MP Mr H.A. Tshivhase, 20km north of the capital.

At 3:50AM a third explosion rocked Thohoyandou as a bomb blew the door out of the health department building, shattering window panes.

No arrests had been made and no injuries were reported.

The type of explosive device used is still unknown. Police are investigating, Gen Mulaudzi said.

It was also not clear if the special session of parliament would still be sitting on Friday, as scheduled.

### Pretoria Police Break Up Privatization March

*MB2903124090 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1230 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Pretoria, March 29, SAPA—Police have broken up a city-centre march by public sector workers, leaving about 40 injured and an estimated 30 arrested, the assistant general-secretary of the Post and Telecommunications Workers Union (POTWA), Mr. Tlhalefang Sekano, said on Thursday.

Meanwhile, a group of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] public sector trade unionists will be handing a memorandum calling for an end to privatisation to government officials at the Union Buildings shortly after 2pm, he said.

The proposed march from Church Square to the Union Buildings ended at about 12:45pm with police "laid siege" to workers in a parking lot at the building housing POTWA's regional offices in Bloed Street.

After union officials negotiated with the police officer in charge, the workers were allowed to leave the premises.

Earlier, groups of workers who had been dispersed at police roadblocks in the city's central business district were bitten by police dogs, "beaten" by policemen and teargassed in the Burgers Park Botanical Gardens.

About 30 workers, some bloodied and dressed in the orange overalls of the Pretoria City Council, and others wearing SATS [South African Transport Services] overalls, were seen in the charge office of the Pretoria Central Police Station. [passage omitted]

### **Protest Marchers Gather in Johannesburg**

*MB2903121590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1048 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] Johannesburg March 29 SAPA—Thousands of public sector workers on Thursday morning appeared set to defy magisterial restriction on a protest march against privatisation in Johannesburg's inner city.

More than 5000 workers from the postal, rail, municipal and health sectors gathered at the central Methodist church in preparation for a march on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

The acting chief magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr Pieter Theron, on Thursday laid down conditions for the march. The condition included that not more than 1000 people participate, that organisers take responsibility for injuries or damage to property, and that no more than 40 people participate in a placard demonstration afterwards.

While protesters waved ANC [African National Congress] banners, knobkerries and sticks outside the church, organisers said it would be impossible to comply with a ruling that only 1000 people may participate in the march.

A co-ordinator of the anti-privatisation campaign, Mr Floyd Mashele, said: "We will go on. There is no question of sending people home."

He attacked bans on similar marches to the union buildings in Pretoria and in Bloemfontein on Thursday.

The march, originally scheduled to start at 10am, was delayed for several hours as the crowd waited for speakers, including ANC stalwart Mr Wilton Mkhwayi and union leaders to address them.

About 1000 people packed the church hall while the growing crowd sang freedom songs outside.

Chanting demonstrators sealed off Pritchard Street and about five van loads of policemen stood by.

The march, part of a COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Union] anti-privatisation campaign, was spearheaded by the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association (POTWA), the South African Railway and Harbours Workers Union (SARHWU), the

South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) and the National Health, Education and Allied Workers Union.

Also present were large numbers of female workers from hospitals in Johannesburg and the Baragwanath and Coronation Hospital.

Showing solidarity were a few uniformed wardens from Diepkloof Prison who were recently suspended because of their involvement in the prisons union, POPCRU.

Protesters, who crammed the Small Street Mall at the Church, loudly cheers a warder who was carried shoulder-high through the crowd.

He said, "these people who have been collaborating with the system have seen our mistake, that we were fighting against our own people."

"We are sick and tired of apartheid."

Posters displayed slogans such as "down with privatisation" and "POTWA says: Don't Buy Shares, P and T is Ours".

The march also focussed on the 10 per cent salary increase for the public sector due to take effect next month.

### **'Thousands' Protest High Rents in KwaThema**

*MB2803071990 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0659 GMT 28 Mar 90*

[Text] Johannesburg March 27 SAPA—Thousands of black people on Tuesday [27 March] marched in KwaThema township near Springs on the East Rand to protest against high rents.

Police monitored the peaceful march and made no move to intervene, eyewitnesses said. Photographs of the event showed throngs of people flowing down a township road carrying various placards, one of which read: "Stop Selling The Land To Private Developers."

### **Prohibition on Gatherings Extended 1 Year**

*MB3003103090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1005 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Text] Pretoria March 30 SAPA—The prohibition on gatherings calling for educational boycotts and work stayaways has been extended for one year by a government notice gazetted in Pretoria on Friday.

The prohibition, enforceable from April 1, 1990, to March 31, 1991, follows the expiry of a similar notice on March 31 (tomorrow).

Section 46(3)(A) of the Internal Security Act prohibits any public gatherings other than bona fide sport occasions, indoor gatherings and funeral ceremonies in cemeteries.

Section 46(3)(B) of the same act prohibits any gathering urging educational boycotts and strikes not forbidden under Section 65 of the Labour Relations Act.

The decision to extend the prohibition by minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was taken in view of the prevailing circumstances in the country, the Department of Justice said in a statement issued to SAPA on Friday.

The department was considering further legislation to regulate orderly gatherings and processions, as currently defined under Section 53 of the Internal Security Act.

Until legislation in this regard was approved by Parliament, permission for marches and public gatherings still had to be obtained from local magistrates.

### Police Issue Unrest Report for 29-30 Mar

*MB3003101590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0952 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Text] Pretoria March 30 SAPA—The police public relations division in Pretoria reported the following unrest-related incidents for the past 24 hours:

"At Galeshewe (Kimberley) a number of stone-throwing incidents were reported. An SADF [South African Defence Force] vehicle and a number of police vehicles were damaged, as was a policeman's house.

"In one incident, a mob threw stones and petrol-bombs at a police vehicle. Rubber bullets and birdshot were used to disperse the mob and a man was wounded.

"At Bophelong (Vanderbijlpark Area) a large mob threw petrol-bombs at a police office. Shotgun fire (mainly birdshot) was used to disperse the mob and 3 people were injured.

"At Kanana (Orkney) two houses were damaged in separate petrol-bomb attacks.

"At Lephoi (Bethulie) a large mob threw stones at a municipal policeman. A special constable intervened in order to stop the mob from persisting with their actions but he too was stoned.

"A policeman's house was damaged during the stone-throwing incident. Shotgun fire was used to disperse the mob and 3 men were wounded. Two men were arrested.

"At Silobela (Carolina) a large mob threw stones at a police vehicle. Police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse the mob. A man and a woman were slightly injured and a policeman was also injured when he was struck by a stone.

"In another incident, a mob barricaded a road. When police arrived, stones were thrown at them. Tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot were used to disperse the mob and 11 people were arrested (5 adults and 6 youths).

"At Lethlabile (near Brits) groups of blacks gathered in

the area. Police are investigating a charge of attempted murder after a man was shot and wounded. No other incidents were reported.

"In Pretoria, a large crowd gathered outside COSATU House. When the group moved into Visagie Street and disrupted traffic, the police requested the crowd to disperse. When they refused to comply, 39 people were arrested.

"At Khutsong (Oberholzer) a group of blacks "hijacked" a front-end loader and forced the driver to operate the machine. They then demolished 3 houses causing extensive damage. Two of the houses belong to policemen.

"At King Williams Town (Eastern Cape) a police constable was stabbed when he tried to arrest a suspect in an assault case. The member defended himself with his service pistol and his attacker, a black man, was fatally wounded.

"A mob then gathered and started throwing stones and bottles at the police. Tearsmoke was used to disperse the mob.

"Natal: A further 20 bodies were found in the areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg. A breakdown of incidents and places where the bodies were found are as follows:

"At Mpumuza (Edendale) police found the body of a 25 year old black man with bullet wounds in the chest.

"At Mpophomeni, two groups clashed. When police arrived at the scene, shots were fired at them. Police used rubber bullets and shotgun fire to disperse the mobs. No injuries were reported.

"At Vulisaka (Taylors Halt Area), the bodies of 10 black men were found. They had head wounds as well as stab wounds.

"At Mnyandu (near Henley Dam), a man was killed when he was attacked and stabbed. He was also shot in the stomach. In the same area, a further eight bodies were found (five men and three women).

"All had bullet and stab wounds. During this incident, a number of dwellings were set alight and extensively damaged."

### 42 Black Officials Resign Over Violence

*MB3003073590 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 30 Mar 90*

[Text] Forty-two members of black local authorities have resigned since the beginning of this month because of intimidation and violence.

This was announced by the MEC [member of the Executive Committee] for local government in the Transvaal, Mr. Olaus van Zyl, at a meeting in Pretoria attended by the minister of law and order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, and members of local authorities from the east and west Rand. Mr. Van Zyl said six local authorities were

without a quorum as a result of the resignations and that was making it impossible to take decisions.

### **Bophuthatswana Assembly Rejects Reincorporation**

*MB2303183190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1822 GMT 23 Mar 90*

[Text] Mmabatho March 23 SAPA—The Bophuthatswana National Assembly on Friday [23 March] unanimously rejected a call for the reincorporation of the independent homeland into South Africa.

The government news agency BOPANA reports the Assembly also supported the state of emergency.

It said that during the past three days, all speakers had given full backing to opposition to reincorporation, claiming Bophuthatswana had opted for independence 13 years ago and would not give up its political freedom for material achievements.

Winding up the debate on Friday, Minister of Justice Mr G. Mothibe said the people and the outside world had now heard the country's views on the demand for incorporation and "We intend to preserve our individual national dignity, character and democratic achievements".

He added: "Furthermore, the House supports the state of emergency, having due regard to the safety of the people and the preservation of property."

The Assembly adjourned until May 29.

### **\* MK's Hani Discusses De Klerk's Reforms**

*34000485B Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS  
in English Jan 90 pp 9-11*

[Jenny Cargill article: "New Tactics for New Times"]

[Text] Recognition by the African National Congress (ANC) of the need for tactical flexibility could not be more appropriate than it is now.

The ANC leadership, however, has reasserted that the movement will not be swayed by the current political fluidity into making any broad strategic changes. As Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani put it earlier: "We must be firm in principle and flexible in tactics".

The ANC has yet to make a substantive response to president FW de Klerk's February reform package.

But recent interviews with senior ANC officials and statements from the movement provide some pointers to the organisation's likely course in the short term and the options it believes worth serious consideration.

Even before De Klerk's speech, the ANC had examined some of the questions the government's reforms would pose. The agenda of its extended national executive

committee (NEC) meeting in Lusaka in January included examining the implications of unbanning the ANC. It looked specifically at the implications for the movement's internal underground and for the return of exiles.

But now, with De Klerk's actual offer before it, tactical planning can take a more concrete form.

The movement starts from a recognition that its unbanning alone does not constitute democracy in South Africa. There is no question, says Hani, of 'stopping halfway' although the movement believes that, for De Klerk, getting the ANC to do just that is a key objective. ANC sources say that this aim underpins his reform package.

Consequently the ANC has been particularly vocal in asserting that all its forms of struggle will remain in place—and in fact need to be intensified.

This is the only logical response, the movement believes, given the omissions from De Klerk's package.

The Harare Declaration calls for the creation of equal political opportunity before negotiations could get underway. That, in summary, is the meaning of the ANC's preconditions for talks.

But De Klerk's failure to lift the state of emergency and his government's determination to keep key security legislation in place means he can still decide on the political conduct of others.

Thus an essential tactical objective for the ANC is to keep 'the people' focused on the need to continue to struggle.

It has already drawn on some political sloganising to achieve this, emphasising the positive role of struggle in creating the current political climate—and scoffing at any notion of De Klerk being the initiator.

An earlier interview with NEC member Jacob Zuma gives an insight into the ANC's strategic approach towards sustaining anti-apartheid pressure—and the kind of tactics worth considering. Judging by initial ANC responses to De Klerk's package, Zuma's comments appear to retain their relevance today.

In Zuma's view, 'the question of power should be brought to the centre so that no tricks can be used to derail' the struggle.

And if the people are clear on that, says Zuma, 'you cannot say to people "stop the struggle now", when they haven't yet got power in their hands'.

The need to focus on the question of state power underlies this year's ANC slogan: People's action for a democratic South Africa.

'The slogan is very much related to us trying to centralise the question of power, that every action which people undertake must be understood to be actions related to



bringing about a democratic South Africa', says Zuma, also a member of the ANC's national Political Military Committee (PMC) which directs operations inside South Africa.

At a tactical level, Zuma suggests targeting mass action at the symbols of state power—marching on parliament is one example—as well as taking up the issues of the day.

With the unbanning of the ANC this kind of activity is likely to receive a considerable fillip, as the ANC moves in to take full advantage of the extra political space De Klerk's reforms have afforded.

Hani believes the unbanning of the organisation will in fact 'unleash an avalanche in the sense that the ANC will have at its disposal most of its experienced leaders at a number of levels'.

There is little doubt that the ANC will now want political organisation to take place under its name—instead of through proxies.

The course of the South African Youth Congress—by which an organisation simply declares itself an ANC structure—is one obvious option.

But added to that the ANC is likely to consider bringing some of its underground units into the open, particularly those which have been involved in strictly political work.

These units would provide a necessary core of cadres with a working understanding of the ANC and its policies. Combining their input with that of released political prisoners and unbanned activists, the ANC could realistically think of its own organised, political base throughout the country before liberation—a factor missing in liberation struggles such as that in Zimbabwe, and sorely felt after the achievement of independence.

But despite possible tactical adjustments, there is no question of the ANC disbanding its underground.

Zuma argues that as long as 'the regime is poised to continue with restrictions the underground factor in our organisation remains key, remains the only area where you can guarantee operating and deepening the struggle outside the framework of legality put there by the regime'.

A return of exiles at this stage would be impossible since negotiations have not even started, nor guarantees been provided.

And from the ANC's perspective Umkhonto needs to be maintained as a coherent force as insurance against the National Party reneging on its reforms or undertakings.

De Klerk will also find his chief antagonist uncompromising about the return of exiles being conditional on the nature of their ANC activities.

But one option the ANC leadership may consider is returning a small number of its exiles to both legal and

illegal existence within the country to assist in internal organisational work and in communications between internal and external arms of the ANC.

Hani argues that the ANC, not De Klerk, will decide how and when exiles return. But whatever the conditions of returning, he says, it will be conducted in an 'organised and systematic manner'.

'We are not going back as returning refugees. The movement will map out the tasks of each and every one of us, where we go...there will still be a need to leave people to service our organisation, to be in touch with the international community', he says.

The leadership may even consider sending into the country a high-level delegation for consultations with other democratic formations. This idea was first mooted during the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group initiative, abruptly aborted by the SADF's attacks on three Frontline states in 1986.

What of the ANC's approach to De Klerk himself?

Leading ANC sources say De Klerk is keen to add issues to the negotiations agenda which the ANC has locked into pre-conditions for talks. The Group Areas Act is one such issue.

For Hani, there can be no question of altering the pre-conditions package. 'We don't want the enemy to choose within that package issues which it prefers. We demand the whole package'.

However, there is room for more flexibility than Hani's statement seems to imply.

On the armed struggle, Hani suggests that the leadership could instruct the army to unilaterally suspend its actions for a month or two. This would be an effective demonstration of the ANC's goodwill and would throw the ball back at De Klerk.

Hani has hinted that this option is already in place in the Transkei. 'Why should we attack a man like (General Bantu) Holomisa, when he is actually articulating good positions?'

But for the armed struggle to effectively influence the balance of forces—so important to both sides as they prepare for negotiations—it will need to demonstrate its capabilities.

At its January meeting the NEC itself cast doubt on Umkhonto's capacity to intensify its actions. But Zuma says the obstacles to this were considered 'very deeply' and the leadership was confident they could be overcome.

Another possible ANC response would be to agree to some direct contact with Pretoria before all pre-conditions are met. In other words to engage in some tentative pre-talks. But this would certainly not happen before Nelson Mandela's release.

Thus the tactical terrain offers much room for manoeuvre. Says Zuma, the ANC is unlikely to respond to De Klerk with slogans. Rather it will look to the kind of political footwork that is geared to keep the National Party leader on the defensive, forced to react to the ANC rather than to initiate action on his own.

**\* ANC's Transformation Into Party Under Way**

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in English 23 Feb 90 pp 3-5

[Article: "South Africa II: A Whiff of Freedom for the ANC"]

[Text] Nineteen-ninety will see the African National Congress (ANC) transformed from liberation movement to political party. It started with the January visit to Lusaka of Walter Sisulu and other Robben Island veterans. Sisulu and his comrades were shocked by the virulence of the accusations made against their own leaders by the cadres in exile.

The year will end with a national conference in South Africa on 16 December 1990—ANC Heroes' Day. This was decided at a meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC), the ANC's governing body, which took place in Lusaka from 14-16 February. The last ANC conference inside South Africa was in 1958.

In response to President F.W. de Klerk's unbanning of the organisation, the ANC is planning a massive return of its cadres, especially the non-military staff in Tanzania. We understand they are already buying their tickets. Their task will be to rebuild the ANC as a legal organisation.

The NEC has also announced that it is organising a delegation to meet de Klerk and his team to begin pre-negotiations. This process is expected to culminate in the December conference which will then debate the key issues which have emerged from talks about talks. The delegation will consist of the ANC's non-military leaders such as Pallo Jordan and Sindiso Mfenyane.

Although recent events have taken the ANC by surprise, the decisions of the February NEC meeting indicate that the organisation has finally found its feet and is ready to do business with de Klerk.

The 1990 consultative conference was originally scheduled for June. After the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC, many had expected that the conference would be brought forward so that the organisation could grapple with the new challenges. Sceptics in the ANC believe that the decision to hold the conference in December in South Africa is designed to help the many discredited figures in the existing leadership. Insiders reason that the sins committed by the exiled leaders are not known inside South Africa. The fanatical commitment of the rank and file inside the country may ensure the re-election of many in the current leadership

who otherwise fear being turned out of office by conference delegates. This is especially true of the many communists in the NEC, who in December will be able to count on the fact that the popularity of the South African Communist Party is at an all time high inside South Africa.

The January visit to Lusaka by Walter Sisulu and other veterans freed last year provided the long-suffering exiles with the opportunity to express their disaffection. Sisulu, on his arrival at Lusaka airport, called for the movement to accept criticism and to engage in self-criticism. His invitation was received with a wild cheer by the rank and file who have been waiting for years to voice their frustrations. Only twice in the decades of exile have the rank and file openly and frankly criticised their leaders. Once was in the mid-1960s when members of the Luthuli detachment of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* led by Chris Hani wrote a memorandum accusing army leaders of abusing their position. The result was near-fatal for Hani and his men. They were threatened with execution and rescued only by the intervention of J.B. Marks and others.

The second occasion was the 1984 mutiny in Angola which finished with a wave of public executions. Many agreed that the mutiny occurred largely because of the absence of a forum for voicing discontent or dissent. After the mutiny, Hani and other leaders encouraged open debate as the only way of avoiding a repetition. Unfortunately, the post-1984 enthusiasm for openness did not last long.

So it was not until January 1990 that the disaffected rank and file exiles were able to seize upon the return of the Rivonia trialists, men steeped in the democratic traditions of the ANC and untainted by the disregard for democracy and the abuses of power which have characterised its inner political life for much of its time in exile.

Speaker after speaker identified corruption and inertia as some of the ANC's most chronic diseases. The allegations came from cadres frustrated by the failure of the war effort and the general squalor of their camps. The main allegations, unsubstantiated, fell into three vague categories: sexual misconduct by leaders, which had led to the break-up of families; personal enrichment in the form of farms in Zimbabwe and secret bank accounts; and the abuse of power.

One of the current leaders most criticised at the stormy Lusaka meeting was acting president Alfred Nzo. He has never been popular in the ANC, largely because of his lacklustre manner and his reputation for timidity. So heavily attacked was he that his wife tried to intervene on his behalf and was shouted down from the floor. Nzo's hopes of replacing Oliver Tambo as ANC president, or even of retaining his post as secretary general at the December conference, have now been dashed.

Also singled out for criticism were Treasurer-General Thomas Nkobi, Army Commander Joe Modise, and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.



Army Commander Joe Modise was criticised particularly for his failure to visit the soldiers both in the forward areas and in the rear bases. He has never been popular in the ranks and has owed his long tenure as army commander largely to Tambo's sensitivity to ethnic issues. Tambo has always feared that, since all Modise's likely successors would be Xhosas, his removal would be interpreted as a Xhosa conspiracy. In fact, the soldiers have no patience with this argument. In January they shouted their support for Raymond Mhlaba, who succeeded Mandela as *Umkhonto we Sizwe* commander in the early 1960s, saying 'Our commander is back.' Some even warned Modise that henceforth he set foot in the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* camps at his own risk.

The exiles also took issue with Josiah Jele and Joe Nhlanhla. Jele and Modise were accused of turning the Political-Military Council (PMC) and the Military Headquarters into personal fiefs, thus contributing to the failure of the underground struggle. Since the departure of Mac Maharaj, now seriously ill, Jele has run the PMC almost single-handed. He has run it with his close friends Jane Ngubane and Mpumi Ntai. Part of Jele's unpopularity is explained by the fact that he was never elected to the ANC's governing body. He was coopted onto the NEC by Tambo after the 1985 Kabwe conference.

Nhlanhla was criticised chiefly for the activities of his security organ *Mbokodo*. Its unsavoury reputation has been further tarnished by the death in custody of Thami Zulu. Nhlanhla attempted to launch an investigation into Hani, whom he accused of leaking sensitive information to the rank and file to boost his image. There are some who believe that Nhlanhla is playing into the hands of the shrewd Sizakele Sigxashe who, in his capacity as chief intelligence analyst, determines when cases need investigation. Nhlanhla's downfall would strengthen Sigxashe's chances of taking over the still vacant post as head of Intelligence and Security.

Walter Sisulu was visibly alarmed by the accusations flying around in Lusaka and the hostility of the cadres. He exhorted them to show patience and discipline, telling them they will have their say in the forthcoming conference.

The December meeting promises to be the most open ANC conference in decades. The two most recent conferences in exile were both chaired by members of the Communist Party in the persons of J.B. Marks (Morogoro, 1969) and Professor Jack Simons (Kabwe, 1985). At Kabwe, the top leadership was elected not by secret ballot but by acclamation. This helped save Nzo and Nkobi, who benefitted from Tambo's popularity. The Kabwe conference was heavily influenced by the weight of the largest block of votes—the army, whose delegation was led by 'Che' Ogara and was under the direct tutelage of Hani. This helped win the day for positions adopted by the Communist Party caucus, such as on abolishing racial restrictions to membership of the NEC. This too was decided by acclamation.

In anticipation of the 1990 conference, Hani has been busy planting his own proteges in the officer corps among ANC soldiers in Uganda. The chief representative in Kampala and her deputy can both thank Hani for their appointments, and over 90 percent of the commanding officers are Hani loyalists. But, since the conference will now be inside South Africa, the Kabwe tactics may not work this time round.

It seems clear that Mandela will emerge as the new ANC president in December. During the mid-February meeting of the NEC, there was talk in the ranks of appointing Mandela as caretaker president to replace Nzo. All agree that Nzo has been fatally damaged by his unpopularity, a situation the organisation can ill afford at this crucial moment. Even those who would be opposed to Mandela under less critical circumstances agree that he is now the only serious candidate for the presidency.

Mandela's immense popularity at home should also help carry him to the presidency of the ANC this year. He has emphasised that he is, as he puts it, a 'loyal and disciplined member of the ANC' who respects policy, including on the armed struggle and nationalisation.

As for ANC policy, for some time to come it will be determined essentially by the Communist Party, which on account of its sheer numbers in the NEC will continue to dominate decision-making. The Party is trying to change its undemocratic character and show respect for popular sentiment both in exile and at home. It too wants Mandela to lead the ANC into a future South Africa.

For the first time, the December conference will be able to bring into the NEC leaders of the democratic movement from inside the country. Among our tips for promotion to the NEC are:

- The dynamic Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, an almost certain choice.
- Cyril Ramaphosa, the brilliant trade unionist, respected by friend and foe alike. Ramaphosa came under attack for his statement last December that Mandela was merely an ordinary member of the ANC. He has recovered by adroitly using his position as secretary of the Mandela Reception Committee to make amends.
- Cheryl Carolus, a woman with an illustrious record in the resistance movement, has no equal in the present ANC women's section. She would represent an important constituency, the young lions of the Western Cape 'coloured' townships.
- Dr Beyers Naude, whose popularity cuts across racial boundaries. He is credited with strengthening the ANC by association with legal organisations, especially churches. He has many proteges in key positions, such as NEC member Jackie Selebe.
- Chris Dlamini, the popular vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Highly respected within the ANC, he is credited with

shepherding former members of rival union federations into the Charterist fold and defeating the work-erists led by Alec Erwin.

- Reverend Arnold Stofile, the prolific theologian whose credentials as an ANC leader are unquestionable. Many would like him to take over from Fumanekile Gqiba as the ANC chaplain. Gqiba, an unordained minister, is controversial and unpopular. He is especially disliked in the Western Cape.

Altogether, the chances of the ANC resuming the democratic tradition which it had enjoyed before its banning look good. Events in Lusaka during Sisulu's visit were a sign of the times.

#### \* Text of ANC's NEC Anniversary Statement

34000495B Lusaka SECHABA  
in English Feb 90 pp 3-16

[Statement by the National Executive Committee on the occasion of the 78th Anniversary of the African National Congress on 8 January 1990; "The Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa"]

[Text] Compatriots and comrades, brothers and sisters,

A New Year is upon us. The President of your movement, the ANC [African National Congress], Comrade Oliver Tambo, is unable to address you today as he has not yet fully recovered his health. We speak to you today, 8 January, the 78th Anniversary of the ANC, on his express instructions. We have, in the first instance, the honour and privilege to extend to you all and to all our friends everywhere, his New Year greetings as well as those of the rest of the leadership of our movement and the membership as a whole. Similarly, we greet our revolutionary allies, the SACP [South African Communist Party] and SACTU [South African Congress of Trade Unions].

#### Our Historic Achievements

We observed 1989 as the Year of Mass Action for People's Power. We are proud today that we have, as a result of our mass actions, come much closer than ever before to the goal we set ourselves, that of transforming South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

We salute all the patriotic forces of our country for this historic achievement. Millions joined in action to bring this result about. The overwhelmingly successful general strikes, the historic campaign of mass defiance which was characterised by our refusal to submit to repression and state terrorism, the continuing rent boycotts, the mass rallies and demonstrations, the boycott of the elections to the House of Representatives and Delegates in the tricameral parliament, all contributed in creating the mood of expectation that pervades our country today.

So too did the reclaiming by our people in the bantustans of their South African citizenship, the hunger strikes

carried out by the State of Emergency detainees, the sterling struggles waged by our white compatriots against conscription and for a complete rejection of the apartheid system and its racist tenets, the heroic actions of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the continued offensive of the international community. Of decisive importance as well has been the implementation of the New York Accords concerning Angola and Namibia which opened the way for the progress of the people of Namibia towards independence from apartheid South Africa.

Thanks to the heroic struggles we have waged up to this point, the situation has arisen whereby there is probably no thinking South African today who does not expect that change must come in our long-suffering country. Yet, it is a moment that harbours both the potential for change and the ever-present danger of a terrible blood-bath. What the outcome will be depends on the balance of forces, the steadfastness of the democratic movement and the wisdom of all the people of our country.

#### Apartheid Must Be Abolished

What we must make very clear is that the overwhelming majority of our people will not rest until the apartheid system is totally abolished and a non-racial democracy in a united South Africa established. Let those who hold power in our country fix this firmly in their minds that the people will accept nothing less than this and that our common motherland will know neither peace nor stability until this objective is realised.

Our rejection of the apartheid system has always been and remains uncompromising. This system is a crime against humanity. No elements of this crime can be permitted to continue, whatever the excuses advanced for their preservation. The people's demand that it must be eradicated in its entirety is non-negotiable.

We can take no other position precisely because apartheid has meant and continues to mean some of the most terrible suffering that any people anywhere in the world have endured since the end of the Second World War. It has meant the death of millions of people through hunger and deprivation that are a direct result of this system. It has meant the death of hundreds of thousands throughout our region as a result of repression, state terrorism and undeclared war waged for the sole object of protecting the apartheid system.

It signifies the murder of some of the best sons and daughters of all the people of our country, whether on the gallows by official hangmen, in the streets and villages by the police and the army, in prison cells by licensed torturers or elsewhere by the official secret death squads of the Pretoria regime. It has meant the dehumanisation of an entire people. It has led to the inevitable conflict in our country which still has the possibility to claim the lives of so many of our people as we fight on, because we must, to end the apartheid crime against humanity.

### National Party—Apartheid Architect

These days, the National Party also speaks of its commitment to end apartheid. The unlamented and melodramatic disappearance of PW Botha from the political scene is presented as a milestone signifying a change of direction by this apartheid party. Its leaders must, however, understand if we remain unconvinced and sceptical and demand that they translate their words into action.

The same National Party occupies an uncontested position as the sole architect of the apartheid system. For over 40 years it has, systematically and callously, constructed this system of white minority domination and used the most brutal means and methods to entrench and defend it, upholding the destructive notion that the security of the white population depended on white domination.

It has trained and equipped an army and a police force as well as a phalanx of civil servants, to say nothing of the white population in general, to stamp viciously and mercilessly on any person and organisation that threatens the survival of the apartheid system.

Repeatedly over the decades, it has thrown these forces of repression into action and built up a tradition of barbarism among them. It would be foolhardy of us to forget that, however engaging the smiles they might wear on their faces today, these forces still hold a deadly sword in their hand, capable of being used for the purpose for which they have been trained—the ruthless defence of the apartheid system of white minority domination and exploitation.

### South Africa Belongs to All

Throughout the seven decades of our existence we have fought against white minority rule and advanced a perspective of equality in freedom for all South Africans. We have put forward and defended the idea that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. We espoused these principles because we value freedom, justice, democracy and security for all the people of our country.

We also adopted these positions because we cherish peace and knew that so long as injustice persisted so long would the people be denied peace. In addition, and in pursuit of the twin objectives of justice and peace, and as the Pretoria regime can confirm from its own files, we repeatedly asked successive white rulers of our country to enter into negotiations with genuine representatives of our people. Even when we were compelled to take up arms, we tried to conduct a humane war with as few casualties as possible. This was precisely because as a movement for national liberation we value life and fight to assert the right to life in the face of a system that is inherently violent and murderous.

### Create the Climate for Negotiations

Because the democratic forces of our country value peace, while being committed to genuine freedom for all the people of our country, they have, once more and in unity, put forward a proposal for the political resolution of the conflict in which our country is enmeshed. That proposal, as contained in the Harare and UN General Assembly Declarations, is intended for the sole purpose of ending the system of apartheid as quickly and with as little bloodshed and destruction as possible. So far, Pretoria's response to this historic proposal has amounted to nothing more than political gamesmanship which has absolutely nothing to do with a serious effort to advance towards a mutually acceptable agreement to end the apartheid system.

It still remains for the Pretoria regime to create a climate conducive to negotiations. In putting forward this universally accepted demand, we are not asking for special favours. We are asking that all who should participate in any process of negotiations should enjoy equal political opportunities. On this historic occasion, we reiterate that the democratic forces of our country will not be terrorised into negotiations and cannot be expected to enter into such a process until they enjoy the same freedoms to engage in political activity as does the National Party.

A little while ago, we converged in Johannesburg in our tens of thousands to welcome, in a disciplined and orderly manner, the leaders of our people who had been released from prison after a quarter-of-a-century of incarceration. We took advantage of the space that had emerged to hold this rally as we had organised the marches conducted in the course of our defiance campaign.

While recognising these advances, we have made it plain that that great son of our people, who continues to wage a principled struggle from prison as a disciplined and committed member and leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, as well as other patriots, remains in prison. The State of Emergency remains in place. Organisations and individuals continue to be banned and restricted. The De Klerk regime still has a long way to go before it can claim that it has ended repression directed against the national liberation and democratic movement of our country. So long as this repression continues, so long shall we struggle against it.

Therefore, whether the potential for a political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime. For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system. It ought to be obvious that we, who are the victims of this heinous system, can never act in a manner designed either to perpetuate it or to lead to the loss of even more lives.

Despite the promises that have been made to the contrary, the apartheid system remains in place. An apartheid white minority regime continues to rule our



country. There is in power a party of racism which has grown accustomed to power and cannot imagine itself as anything except a ruling party. The very real conditions of our lives, including the denial of democratic political rights, demand that we continue the struggle until we have removed the yoke of oppression.

#### **No to Group Rights**

Compatriots, the need for all of us, black and white, to unite around the perspective of one, democratic and non-racial South Africa has never been greater than it is today. This not only requires that we should embrace this perspective but also that we should join in struggle together, marching shoulder to shoulder for its realisation.

We take this opportunity once more to salute the Conference for a Democratic Future. We united at this historic Conference to forge a mighty formation of struggle for a democratic South Africa. By that act and in our decisions, we put on the agenda, as the issue of the day, the transformation of our country into a genuine democracy, in which the people would govern, on the basis of one person one vote in a non-racial society, and not on a group basis. This is a demand that we must imprint on all our banners as we continue and intensify our struggle for freedom.

Confronting directly the manoeuvres of the De Klerk regime to draw us into an apartheid structure which would parcel our meaningless portions of power in a so-called power-sharing arrangement that would leave the white minority as the dominating force, we correctly called for an elected Constituent Assembly that would be truly representative of the people and accountable to them; one that would, once and for all, answer the question of who the genuine representatives of the people are. We must fight for this demand to ensure that power does indeed rest in the hands of the people, and not appointees of Pretoria and other self-seeking charlatans.

The fact that the Conference for a Democratic Future took place and that it arrived at these and other important decisions, should not lead us to ignore some of the weaknesses that emerged during its preparation and its sessions. One of the most important lessons these point to, is that there needs to be greater interaction among all the forces that were represented at the Conference, in a conscious effort to think and plan together on a continuous basis. United action becomes easier for all of us to achieve when we have all participated in the process of determining what action we should take together.

#### **Our Strategic Objective**

This pregnant moment in our history, which demands of all of us that we make the decisive push for the democratic transformation of our country, requires clarity of thought in terms of our tactical and strategic objectives, without confusing the two. It requires that we should know the goals of the national democratic revolution and

refuse to fall victim to promises of pies-in-the-sky made by demagogues who know they cannot even deliver a stale slice of bread.

Our first strategic objective is to restore democratic political power into the hands of the people in a united and non-racial South Africa. Once this objective is achieved, it will be the task of people's power to dismantle the system of apartheid and to undertake the process of fundamental socio-economic transformation, directed at meeting the aspirations of the people in the manner spelt out in the Freedom Charter, the Constitutional Guidelines and the Workers' Charter that are currently under discussion. These are the strategic objectives of the national democratic revolution around which are united the millions of our people, a strategic unity which we must guard and protect like the apple of our eye.

#### **Need for Tactical Flexibility**

Tactics have to do with how we conduct the struggle from one moment to the next, responding to a changing situation. By their nature they require flexibility. The correct tactical approach also demands that we should, at all times, understand the balance of forces correctly and not overestimate or underestimate the strength and possibilities of either our own forces or those of our opponents. Above all and in the present situation, we should 'claim no easy victories' and avoid the temptation of euphoria.

In addition to our clarity on such issues, the victory of the democratic revolution will depend on how organised we are and how successful we are in bringing the millions of our people into continuous and united struggle as conscious fighters for their own liberation. From this, it is clear that we still have many tasks ahead of us.

#### **The Tasks Ahead**

Of central importance is the need for us further to strengthen in every way possible and necessary the organised formations of the democratic movement. The truth is that many of these continue to show obvious weaknesses in terms of how the membership is organised, the uneven level of consciousness, the strength and cohesion of the leadership structures and their accountability to the membership as well as the contact of these formations with the masses of the people.

In all these organisations there are adequate numbers of fairly well-prepared cadres who should be able to address these issues and enable those democratic formations affected rapidly to correct any mistakes and improve their capacity to function effectively. The goal of ensuring the proper organisation of our fighting formations is a priority task without whose fulfilment we shall be hampered in terms of taking the struggle further forward.

We must also not forget the reality that millions of our people remain unorganised and maintain weak contact



with the organisations of the democratic movement. This is an issue that we should also address constantly, to build organisation and draw even more of our people into struggle.

### **Organise and Mobilise in the Countryside**

This definitely affects the masses of our people in the countryside. Important strides have been made in organising these heroic masses who are also deeply interested in their own emancipation and that of their country as a whole. But more needs to be done.

We therefore hail and wish to encourage very strongly the efforts being made to organise the agricultural workers. Inspiring progress has been made in the establishment of youth and women's organisations in the countryside as well as democratic village committees and political organisations. We need further to expedite these processes by ensuring the availability of resources to carry out this work and by elaborating programmes of action together with these rural masses, in order to mobilise them into struggle.

A special tribute is due to the traditional leaders who have combined themselves into the Congress of Traditional Leaders. Having broken away from the stable of those who help to administer the apartheid system, these leaders have regained the respect of the people and are a valuable and indispensable component of the genuine forces for change. They have a responsibility to draw other traditional leaders into their democratic formation as well as participate together with the rest of the democratic movement in organising and mobilising the people in the countryside into struggle.

We also salute those who operate within the bantustan system but have elected to join the people as part of the mighty and invincible army that fights for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We trust that these developments have ensured that never again shall we, as the democratic movement, abandon our task of organising these forces into struggle, regardless of the fact that they serve in enemy-created structures.

We also remind those who have not yet followed this example that, by their actions, they too have the possibility to be counted as patriots who overcame the short-lived temptations of the moment and saw that the future lies not in the perpetuation of apartheid but in its destruction, and its replacement by a social order which they will be honoured to construct as they would have participated in its introduction.

### **Working Class Unity**

As we have agreed in previous years, millions of workers remain outside the ranks of the organised democratic trade union movement. We have to continue to devote maximum attention to this issue to ensure that the overwhelming majority of the workers of our country are

organised. all of us must join hands with Cosatu and its affiliates to organise both the unorganised and the unemployed.

The unity of the working class is one of the most important weapons in the hands of the workers and the democratic movement as a whole. It is therefore an objective for which we have to strive continuously. In this regard, we would like to welcome the unity victories the democratic trade union movement scored during the course of the year 1989. Progress is also being made in the vital task of uniting the teachers. Clearly, we need to move with greater speed in pursuit of this objective.

Further work also remains to be done to reach out to other organised formations of workers, including the white or white-led trade unions. It is necessary to show these workers that their fundamental interests are best served by joining the forces that are inexorably bringing a democratic South Africa into being and not those that still cling to a criminal past whose days are, in any case, numbered.

Quite clearly and correctly, the general tendency among the workers of our country is progress towards ever greater unity, whatever the problems we have to overcome in achieving this goal. It is therefore all the more disturbing that there should be some who, while claiming to represent the genuine interests of the working class as a whole, work persistently and unashamedly to wreck and sabotage the unity of the working class.

Sooner rather than later, the ordinary working people whom they lead will wake up to realise that these leaders are isolating them from the majority of the organised workers of our country for purely selfish and sectarian reasons. We call on those responsible to abandon the path they have embarked upon and the objectives they have set themselves, all of which only serve the interests of the counter-revolution.

The democratic movement as a whole has demonstrated more than once that it is ready and willing to listen to the views of the thousands of workers affected by the unhealthy divisive process within the trade union movement, to respect their feelings and, in the interests of the workers themselves and the oppressed masses of our country, to work patiently to achieve unity, without creating a situation of victors and losers. Let all honest patriots act now to build unity rather than to sow division, to help build a democratic future rather than pull backwards towards a racist past.

### **Peace in Natal**

In this context, we need to re-emphasise the absolute importance of the black oppressed. The continuing bloodbath in Natal poses an urgent challenge to all of us to intensify our efforts to bring about peace. We must not be discouraged by those who are playing around with the lives of the people with the objective of gaining an

empty political advantage, but must reach out to the people so that they impose peace on those who seem to relish death.

### **Emancipation of Women**

As we speak, an important and exciting conference of the women of our country is taking place in the Netherlands. This is the *Malibongwe Conference*. We salute the women comrades and compatriots who have gathered in Amsterdam and look forward to the results of their conference which must have an important impact on the entirety of our work, regarding the mass involvement of women in the struggle and their emancipation from the yoke of triple oppression.

The overwhelming majority of the women of our country, the most oppressed section of our population, remain lamentably unorganised and under-organised. As yet, because of this, they remain by and large a reserve force of the liberation movement of our country. In good measure this is so because even the most developed sections of this movement have not addressed seriously the issue of emancipation of women. The consequent continued political marginalisation of women itself works to ensure that they too are not positioned to intervene in a decisive manner to assert the centrality of the liberation of women in the whole process of achieving national and social emancipation.

The time has come that the democratic movement as a whole and all its activists should adopt concepts and practices that overturn old modes of approach towards the female half of the population of our country. We must ensure that the women are organised from the local level upwards and draw them into struggle in their millions and as equal participants at all levels of organisation and regardless of the form of struggle. The mass involvement of the women is vital for our success in the objective we have set ourselves, that of ensuring the speediest democratic transformation of our country.

By achieving this mass participation, we will also prepare for the situation in future when we shall have to transform the legal and constitutional framework, the economy, culture, ideology and other forms of human existence in such a way that ours does in fact become a non-sexist society.

### **Youth—the Pride of our Nation**

The heroic youth of our country, the great pride of all our people, have continued to occupy their position among the front ranks of the forces that fight for liberation. We salute them and urge them further to deepen their involvement in the struggle, as the creative but disciplined and responsible force that they have been. It is of particular importance that the youth should also pay maximum attention to the question of strengthening their own organisation. During the height of the repression under the current state of emergency, the apartheid state made a special effort to weaken the democratic organisations of the youth.

Good progress is being made in reconstituting old structures and creating new ones where none existed before. This work should continue so as to draw the millions of our youth into organised formations of the democratic movement. In this process, we also need to pay particular attention to the political education of the youth as part of the common effort to ensure that they continue to play their role as one of the most important contingents of the democratic movement.

### **Education for Liberation**

Among its tasks, the democratic student movement should, together with other forces, address once again, in a systematic manner, the issue of the transformation of the educational system. Taking advantage of the space we have created through struggle, we should try to determine what can be done even now, to produce the kind of young intellectual whom a democratic South Africa will need. To do this effectively also requires that we should be organised. It also means that those who are so organised should not fall victim to revolutionary arrogance and be satisfied to walk alone, leaving behind many other students who might require further education and persuasion to join the democratic movement.

An important responsibility also devolves on teachers and lecturers to participate in this process of the transformation of the educational system.

### **Role of the Intelligentsia**

This issue throws up the important question of the role of the intellectuals of our country in the struggle today and in the processes of fundamental social transformation tomorrow. It is our deeply held belief that we need to develop a strong and active democratic movement among the intelligentsia of our country as well. It is true that serious efforts in this direction have begun. Much more still remains to be done. It is very important that the vast body of intellectuals in our country realises that the situation demands that they too should be firmly committed to the democratic vision for which so many have perished.

### **Faith in Struggle**

There is also a continuing responsibility on the part of the religious community of our country to deepen their engagement in the struggle to end apartheid. The 'standing for the truth campaign' has played an important role in enabling parts of this community to contribute its share to the forward movement towards a democratic South Africa. In the period ahead of us, greater rather than less involvement will be expected of the religious community.

Prominent religious figures have played an outstanding role in the fight against injustice. We salute these great patriots. They have been prepared to sacrifice even their lives to remain true to their beliefs. It remains for all other people of faith to follow this example and, by their

involvement in action against apartheid, help shorten the lifespan of this system and bring life where death was the order of the day.

### **Non-Racial Sport**

The democratic movement as a whole continues to grapple with the important question of developing a genuinely non-racial, mass sports movement. This too is a matter of importance. We need to encourage ever more of our people, both young and old, to participate in sport. This is not only necessary for health, but is also an important means by which the youth occupies itself in a constructive manner. The end of apartheid is also going to mean that we shall, once more, rejoin the world sporting community as accepted competitors. This certain prospect should inspire as many of us as possible to take to the field.

We reiterate our strong opposition to all rebel tours. These are apartheid tours, intended to reinforce this evil system. They serve further to entrench racism in sport and are a counter-force to the efforts that our sports people are making to develop a non-racial sports movement. It remains our common responsibility vigorously to oppose the rebel tours that are due to take place and demand that the apartheid collaborators go home.

We welcome and strongly encourage the steps taken to unite the various sports bodies within each code, on the basis of non-racialism and a commitment to the Olympic principles. This should also play an important role in destroying the divisions among our people, and the resulting antagonisms, which are the heritage of the apartheid system. In this context, we also wish to welcome the emergence of the National Sports Congress and hope that it ensures that it continues to develop as an organisation of sports people who must, among other things, also make their contribution to ensure the speedy end of the apartheid system, in the interest of all sports people and sport itself.

### **Strengthen all People's Organisations**

We must, of course, also strengthen other organisations of the people such as the civic associations, the NECC [National Education Crisis Committee], and organisations which bring together our cultural workers.

#### *Compatriots and fellow freedom-fighters:*

To be victorious in the struggle to liquidate the apartheid system and transform our country into a non-racial democracy requires that we should be organised. Our organisation must be capable of reaching and mobilising the millions of our people into struggle as a united force. They must be able to handle the complicated situation ahead of us, defeating any attempt to break them or render them ineffective.

### **Programme of Action**

To achieve all this they have to be strong. They have to be well organised, with a good leadership, sound political

understanding and established democratic procedures. But in addition, and of great importance, they must also have a programme of action for the destruction of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

We spelt out the essence of this programme at the Conference for a Democratic Future [CDF]. The Unifying Perspective, the Declaration and the Resolutions of this Conference point the correct way forward both in terms of the orientation of the struggle and the practical actions in which we should engage in a united offensive. What remains to be done is that in further discussions within our various organisations, among these formations and through the continuing structures of the CDF, we should decide what practically we should do and when.

As at the Conference, we must, in a programme of action, address such matters as the further intensification of the campaign of mass defiance against repression in all its forms and against the apartheid system. We must address the issue of the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees, saving the lives of the patriots on death row, the bans and restrictions imposed on organisations and individuals, children under apartheid, the mobilisation of the rural masses against the Land Act, for the land to belong to those who work it, the just demand to end conscription, the issue of people's education and other questions that were tabled at the CDF.

### **Offensive for Democracy & Peace**

At our Conference for a Democratic Future, that eminent leader of our people, Comrade Walter Sisulu, called on FW de Klerk to join the people in the struggle to end repression, to end apartheid, to plan for, bring about and build a democratic and non-racial South Africa. The focus of our offensive will be to achieve these objectives through action from below, through mass action, involving the millions of the democratic-minded South Africans. On this there can be no going back. The challenge remains on FW de Klerk's table for him to act from above in pursuit of these same goals without whose realisation our country can never know peace, stability and development.

We also call on our white compatriots to join this mass offensive for democracy and peace. There are already many that have stood up in pursuit of these aims. They participated in the Conference for a Democratic Future as distinguished builders of a future common home of all the people of our country. Those who marched into New Brighton in Port Elizabeth to bridge the racial gulf created by the apartheid system and to make their commitment to work for a future of justice and friendship among all, are today the pride of millions of our people.

We urge the millions of our white compatriots to follow their example, to reach across, join hands with their



black fellow-citizens and together, black and white, march forward to destroy the old and, together create the new social order.

Such actions, carried out in every town and city of our country, would make an enormous contribution to the speedy end of apartheid and the abolition of the racial antagonisms and mistrust which this system sought to nurture and perpetuate. Now is the time that all South Africans who love our country, in all their glorious shades of colour, join forces and act together to turn the land of their birth into a common patrimony of which we can all be proud.

### **Death Squad Terror**

#### *Compatriots:*

The recent revelations about the secret death squads set up by the police and the army, point to the gruesome threat that all our people face from these armed men and women, who have been trained to kill in defence of an unjust system. The closer we get to ending the system of apartheid, the more desperate, vicious and brutal these animals of racism will become. To deny us the peace that will come with the end of apartheid, they will declare war on the unarmed, to produce the peace of the grave.

Now is the time for those patriotic individuals who serve in the apartheid armed forces and police, to declare themselves on the side of the overwhelming majority of the people, to declare themselves in favour of a democratic and non-racial South Africa. Already some have chosen this path, among them serving soldiers and policemen and the brave young whites who have publicly refused conscription, risking and actually serving long terms of imprisonment.

### **Bear Arms in Defence of Freedom**

We therefore reiterate our call to those who belong to these organs of repression, including those in the Bantustans, that if they must bear arms, it must be for the purpose of defending freedom and not perpetuating white minority domination. Their weapons must be pointed not at the people but at the enemy of the people, the apartheid system. In this regard, we salute the decision by Lt Rockman and others to establish an organisation of police and prison officers and trust it, too, will act in the interests of the people.

### **ANC--Born of the People**

The situation ahead of us imposes new responsibilities on our movement, the African National Congress [ANC]. Born of the people almost eight decades ago, and charged by them with the task of leading them in their efforts to secure their emancipation, it has the challenging obligation to carry out this historic mission in the period ahead of us.

To achieve this, the ANC itself needs to be strong and well-organised, clear about both the tactical and the strategic demands of the struggle, and capable of leading

the millions of our people to victory. We therefore call especially on all comrades inside the country to work hard to strengthen the underground structures of the movement, to expand them and ensure that they reach all corners of our country and all sectors of our people.

### **Build the Underground**

As one of the four pillars on which our entire strategy rests, this task is of central and decisive importance. It must therefore be attended to with all the seriousness it deserves, in the interests of all the democratic forces of our country, for the victory of the democratic revolution.

We also take this opportunity to salute the heroic commanders and combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe for the immeasurable contribution they have made to bring us to the stage where we can pose the prospect of the transfer of power to the people as a matter of practical politics. We lower our banners in memory of the revolutionary combatants of the people's army who have laid down their lives during this past year and before. By their sacrifice, they have brought the goal of freedom within our reach.

### **Umkhonto we Sizwe--Our People's Army**

The conditions which obliged us to take up arms remain unchanged. The ANC remains an illegal organisation. Membership of the ANC is a treasonable offence. The state of emergency continues and a whole series of repressive laws remain on the statute books. We have no constitutional means to change the government of the day. While the apartheid regime remains in power, even if the ANC were unbanned, there is no guarantee that this regime would not, once more, proscribe our movement.

These observations are important in the context of the undertaking we have made, as reflected in the Harare Declaration, that we are ready to enter into an agreement with the Pretoria regime for a mutual suspension of hostilities as soon as a climate conducive to negotiations is created. Given our history and the practical situation in our country, we cannot be expected to surrender our weapons until an agreement to end apartheid has been arrived at.

In this respect, we must make it clear that the Harare Declaration is not and was not to be a substitute for other forms of struggle, including our armed offensive. It is an additional weapon in our struggle to liquidate the apartheid system. It constitutes a vital and new intervention by the democratic forces of our country in the arena of political struggle for the democratic transformation of our country.

The armed struggle continues to be a critical and decisive component part of our strategy. The commanders and cadres of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will therefore remain at their active posts, committed to the intensification of our armed offensive against the violent apartheid system, for a democratic and peaceful



South Africa. The people's army must therefore continue to grow and further develop its combat capacity inside the country, so that it becomes a formidable force capable of delivering telling blows against the apartheid regime on a continuous and nation-wide basis.

#### **We Salute SWAPO and the Namibian People**

The sister people of Namibia, our neighbours, are well set on the road to independence. On this historic day in our struggle, we greet them and salute their liberation movement, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] of Namibia. This wise and dignified people has demonstrated that through the democratic election of a Constituent Assembly, by keeping their country together as one united, unfragmented entity, by refusing to treat one another as competing ethnic and racial groups, it is possible to create a situation of peace and stability within a few months of the cessation of armed hostilities.

The victory that is within their grasp is of great importance for the democratic transformation of our own country as well. We reiterate our pledge that we will do everything in our power to contribute to this victory by resisting from our own soil any attempt by the Pretoria regime to block Namibia's progress to proclamation of her independence, fully conscious that this impending victory will push further forward the frontiers of freedom and emphasise the urgent need to liquidate the apartheid system once and for all.

#### **Frontline States—No Peace Until Apartheid Ends**

We salute the sister peoples and governments of the Frontline and other countries of Southern Africa. Our region can never know peace until the apartheid system is ended. We are therefore aware of our responsibilities, not only to ourselves, but also to the peoples of our region, to abolish the apartheid system as quickly as possible. We assure them that that day is not far off. We take this opportunity once more to express our profound appreciation to them for standing firm in their support for our struggle, despite the campaign of terror that the Pretoria regime launched against them.

We are at one with the governments of the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique in their effort to secure peace for their peoples. The terrible carnage in both countries has to end. The Pretoria regime must accept full responsibility for its part in this situation of massive death and destabilisation and its attempt to impose its will on the peoples of these countries.

The recent disclosures about the Comoros confirm the threat posed by the Pretoria regime to independent Africa. This demands continued vigilance by the entire continent and the abandonment of any illusions that

independent Africa can transform the apartheid regime into a friend and an ally. The task of the OAU [Organization of African Unity] and our continent continues to be the intensification of the offensive against the racist regime in South Africa until our people gain their freedom.

#### **Impose Comprehensive Mandatory Sanctions**

On this occasion of the 78th anniversary of our movement, we greet all our friends and allies throughout the world and convey to them our thanks for the work they have done to sustain the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime. The apartheid system continues in place. It therefore still remains for the international community to use the most effective weapon in its hands, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to help bring about a speedy end to the apartheid crime against humanity.

In the coming period, our movement and other democratic forces of our country will require even more extensive political and material support from the world anti-apartheid forces. We are confident that this support will be given generously, to enable our people to realise what the whole world wishes to see—the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

We also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to all states members of the United Nations for their unanimous adoption of the Declaration on South Africa at the 16th Special Session of the General Assembly. We are certain that this will make an important contribution to the speedy resolution of the apartheid question of which the United Nations has been seized almost since its foundation.

#### **Victory Is Certain!**

We begin the last decade of the Second Millennium convinced that victory is certain. Democracy in South Africa must and will emerge triumphant. It is the urgent responsibility of all our people who value freedom, justice and peace to combine in their millions and use their irresistible strength finally to put an end to the apartheid system, transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, enabling it to take its place among the nations of the world as a force for justice, peace and social progress. Consonant with these tasks and in the name of the entire leadership of our movement, we proclaim 1990 the Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa.

Amandla Ngawethu!

Matla ke a Rona!  
Power to the People!

## Angola

### UNITA Claims MPLA Transport Shot Down

MB3003072190 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Central and Southern Africa 0500 GMT 30 Mar 90

["Political and Military situation Report" for 1800 GMT on 28 March—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola continue their fight against the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], which is determined to prolong the war. Accordingly, our forces shot down a transport plane in Bie Province at 1700 [1600 GMT] on 27 March. The plane was carrying troops and war materiel from Bie City to reinforce so-called anti-guerrilla operations mounted by FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces in Huambo Province. The plane was destroyed and all its occupants killed.

2. An enemy group from Cuito Cuanavale, trying to assist the stymied FAPLA forces in Mavinga, clashed with our forces at 0720 on 28 March. By 1400 that day, our forces had destroyed 21 cargo vehicles, one water tank, and three BMP-1's. What is more, enemy troops had to retreat a number of kilometers to reorganize. Our forces are ready for their next move.

3. To provide cover to the enemy group mentioned above, two Sukhoi-22 planes manned by Cubans bombed our Licua base at 1130. In a shameful and cowardly act—which they call retaliation against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]—they dropped four phosphorous bombs which burned civilian houses, killing two women and a three-year-old child, and horribly burning three men, one old woman, and four children.

4. Who has retaliated against the Cubans who have killed thousands of Angolans for the past 15 years? Why should we in our country accept that the life of a Cuban is more precious than that of an Angolan? What should we call people who celebrate when 1,000 Angolans are killed and speak of retaliation when only one Cuban is wounded?

5. What UNITA is asking from the world and people who have once experienced the burden and price of oppression resulting from foreign domination is at least understanding, if not justice.

[Issued] Office of the Chief of General Staff, 28 Mar 1990.

[Signed] Colonel Zacarias Mundombe, deputy military intelligence chief.

### Alleges MPLA Uses Toxic Weapons

MB2603080990 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Central and Southern Africa 0550 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] In its war against our movement, the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] systematically uses toxic bombs against innocent and defenseless Angolan people.

Those Soviet-made bombs are the MPLA leadership's preferred weapons to exterminate our population and perpetuate the one-party and oligarchic MPLA-PT regime in our country.

On behalf of our movement, Comrade President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi has repeatedly reported these crimes by the MPLA-PT over the last few years. In turn, the MPLA-PT always has denied using the aforesaid chemical products.

Professor Auban Hendriks has conducted analyses and come up with irrefutable evidence that have alerted the international community to the reality of the MPLA-PT leadership's criminal acts.

A team of scientists and prominent experts on chemical weapons recently carried out research on site in the Mavinga area—which the MPLA has systematically bombed with chemical weapons—and confirmed the MPLA's use of toxic weapons against Angolan civilians.

### Says Cubans Fight Beside MPLA Troops

MB2603075890 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Central and Southern Africa 0540 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] The Cuban forces in Angola are participating in certain clashes alongside the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces, facing serious difficulties on the various war fronts, particularly along the Mavinga and Ionde axes.

The Cuban authorities find all kinds of pretexts to justify their condemnable actions in Angola. They join the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] forces, or its supply units, to attack UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and, when they suffer losses, they accuse UNITA of failing to fulfill its promises.

The major powers, notably the United States, USSR, France, and Great Britain, as well as the United Nations, must prevent further adventures by Cuban invading forces.

The UNITA forces will never attack Cuban forces in their designated bases or withdrawing from Angola.

**Commentary on UNITA's Message to SWAPO**

*MB2903080190 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 28 Mar*

[ANGOP commentary: "To Put a Happy Face on an Unfortunate Situation"]

[Text] SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] President Sam Nujoma proclaimed the Republic of Namibia on 21 March before leading African and world representatives and dignitaries. Congratulatory messages came from all corners of the world. Paradoxically, UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Political Bureau also sent one, taking the opportunity to reiterate its solidarity with the fraternal people of independent Namibia.

Signed by UNITA ringleader Jonas Savimbi, the message also noted that this organization would do its utmost to safeguard peace and stability in the region. Obviously, this is nothing but the well-known tactic of putting on a happy face on an unfortunate situation which, for Savimbi and his followers, constitutes the end of patronage enjoyed by UNITA from the apartheid regime. After all, neither SWAPO nor its president or even the Namibian Government invited Savimbi to attend the independence celebrations.

Internationally renowned officials like Nelson Mandela, Yasir Arafat, Javier Perez de Cuellar, Salim Ahmed Salim, frontline state leaders, and so on, were present in Windhoek. So, it was a city different from Pretoria when Botha was sworn-in, isolated from the distinguished representatives of the international community.

As a matter of fact, SWAPO combatants know UNITA and its crimes too well. The massacres of Namibian civilians carried out by UNITA, the recruitment of UNITA elements among KOEVOET [Namibian police counterinsurgency unit] units, the registration of UNITA elements to vote against SWAPO, the abduction of SWAPO combatants, as well as other forms of sabotage against the struggle for national liberation of the Namibian people are still fresh in the minds of SWAPO combatants, as well as in the minds of thousands of former Namibian refugees in Angola. How can one accept that an organization, which was politically and militarily supported by South Africa, the former colonial power in Namibia, should today evoke solidarity links binding the two organizations during long years of the struggle of national liberation against colonialism?

Through the warm welcome accorded to the Mandela couple and the frontline leaders in Windhoek on the one hand, and the tolerance shown toward the Namibian opposition leaders on the other, even the Americans themselves were able to see how African peoples know how to honor the true representatives of a struggling continent, and to pardon past errors by being flexible and humane to former enemies. All that UNITA and Savimbi should now do is to adopt a posture that would help Namibia to become a land of peaceful and clement

asylum for its followers who fear to join the great reconciled Angolan family, while avoiding to stain the new nation with the former practice of using it as a transit point for South African support. As long as the door of dialogue remains open, this opportunity should not be missed.

**Namibia****Japan, Iran, Poland Establish Relations**

*MB2303201090 Windhoek Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 23 Mar 90*

[Text] Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab today signed agreements with Japan, Iran, and Poland establishing relations with Namibia.

Mr. Gurirab and Mr. Takashi Kuranari, a special representative of the Japanese Government, signed a diplomatic and cooperation agreement. After the signing ceremony, Mr. Gurirab expressed his pleasure at the fact that Namibia was able to reach the agreement with Japan, an economic and industrial giant.

**South Korea**

*MB3003102090 Windhoek Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] South Korea has established full diplomatic relations with Namibia. The South Korean department of foreign affairs says its special envoy, Mr Song Hak-won, earlier this week during a visit to Windhoek, signed a protocol in this regard with the Namibian Government. According to the statement, the protocol is effective retroactively to 21 March.

**Paper Notes Soviet Interest in Region**

*MB2603182390 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN  
in English 19 Mar 90 p 3*

[Text] "The Soviet public is not only attentively following developments in the southern African continent, but is also giving assistance to the ANC [African National Congress] and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in their struggle to eliminate the apartheid regime," Vasily Solodovnikov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and vice-president of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, said in an interview last week. "The Soviet Union and the Soviet people supported the ANC and SWAPO in the most difficult years, when the West treated these movements as terrorist organisations."

Our country gave considerable material and humanitarian aid to the patriots of South Africa and Namibia, said Solodovnikov. It also supported their interests in different international forums, including the United Nations.

The USSR's contribution to the African Fund had already reached nearly 100 million dollars, he said. In

addition, Soviet public organisations had given 1.6 million dollars worth of help to Namibian refugees returning from exile, he continued. Machinery, food-stuffs, medicines and other consumer goods had also been sent to Namibia.

"The Soviet Solidarity Committee chartered an Aeroflot plane to bring Namibian students from the Soviet Union to their country to make it possible for them to take part in the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

He concluded that the Soviet public welcomed the coming visit to southern Africa by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The visit would strengthen the Soviet position in the region and would show that Moscow had not diverted from its policy of supporting national liberation movements, Solodovnikov said.

### Nujoma Seeks International Business Support

MB2303195790 Windhoek Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] President Sam Nujoma has called on the international business community to stand by the new independent Namibia in the restructuring of its economy.

Mr. Nujoma said the international community's influence on Namibia's independence process cannot be ignored. He said Namibia will follow the good example set by other countries, and eventually become a model state.

### Constitution Prohibits Dual Citizenship

MB2903204290 Windhoek Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] (Mdali Kamati), the permanent secretary of the Department of Home Affairs, says the Namibian Constitution does not provide for dual citizenship. He says persons who were born in Namibia but who are living permanently in South Africa cannot claim Namibian citizenship. He says a person must have a permanent address in the country in order to qualify for a Namibian passport or an identity document.

### UN Police Monitors To Remain for 3 Months

MB2903161390 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1522 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Windhoek, March 29, SAPA—A 370 member group of policemen from Ghana, Nigeria, India and Pakistan are to spend the next three months in Namibia assisting the local force, police spokesman Brig. Siggie Eimbeck said in Windhoek on Thursday.

The policemen, already in Namibia as United Nations police monitors, are staying on at the request of the new government and have been deployed around the country.

They are using UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] vehicles which had been given to the Namibian Government by the UN.

Brig. Eimbeck said a proclamation by the state president, Mr. Sam Nujoma, giving the men the necessary executive powers, was expected shortly.

He said as far as was known, their respective governments would pay salaries for the three-month period, while the Namibian Government would be responsible for food and accommodation.

### International Police Force Begins Work

MB3003074090 Windhoek Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 0600 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] A police force consisting of 370 members from Ghana, Nigeria, India, and Pakistan, is to spend the next three months in Namibia helping the local police force.

A Namibian police spokesman, Brigadier (Siegy Einberg), said the policemen were in Namibia at the government's request and had been deployed around the country. He said a proclamation by the president, Mr. Sam Nujoma, which would give the men the necessary executive powers was expected soon.

Brig. (Einberg) said that as far as was known, the policemen's salaries would be paid by their respective governments while the Namibian Government would be responsible for their food and accommodation.

### Government To Recognize Traditional Leaders

MB2303205690 Windhoek Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Justice Minister Ingarikute Tjiriange says the new government will recognize and respect traditional leaders. Speaking at the end of the independence celebrations at Okakarara, the minister said traditional leaders will form a bridge between the government and the people. He added, however, that traditional courts will be prohibited in order to avoid any miscarriage of justice.

### New Cabinet, Government Officials Noted

MB2903142490

[Editorial Report] The following is a list of Namibian Government ministerial appointments published in the Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER on 23 March 1990, page 14:

President	Sam Nujoma
Prime Minister	Hage Geingob
Minister of:	
Agriculture, Fisheries, Water, and Rural Development	Gerhard Hanekom
Defense	Peter Mueshikange



Deputy	Phillemon Malima
Education, Culture, and Sports	Nahas Angula
Deputy	Buddy Wentworth
Finance	Otto Herrigel
Foreign Affairs	Theo-Ben Gurirab
Deputy	Netumbo Ndaitwah
Health and Social Services	Dr Nicky Izambo
Home Affairs	Hifikepunye Pohamba
Deputy	Nangolo Ithete
Information and Broadcasting	Hidipo Hamutenya
Deputy	Daniel Tjongarero
Justice	Ngarikutuke Tjirirange
Deputy	Reinhard Rukoro
Labor, Public Service, and Manpower Development	Henrik Witbooi
Deputy	Hadino Hishongwa
Lands, Resettlement, and Rehabilitation	Marco Hausiku
Deputy	Dr. Marcus Shivute
Local Government and Housing	Dr. Libertine Amathila
Deputy	Jerry Ekandjo
Mines and Energy	Andimba Toivo ya Toivo
Deputy	Helmut Angula
Trade and Industry	Ben Amathila
Deputy	Reggie Diergaardt
Wildlife, Conservation, and Tourism	Nico Bessinger
Deputy	Pendukeni !thana
Works, Transportation, and Communications	Richard Kapelwa
Deputy	Klaus Dierks
Minister of State for Security	Peter Tsheehama
National Planning Commission Director	Zedekia Ngavirue

## Zimbabwe

### Government Extends Voting to 30 Mar

*MB2903145090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1443 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] Harare, March 29, SAPA—Voting in the Zimbabwe general election has been extended for an extra day, until 4pm Friday [30 March]. ZIANA national news agency reports a spokesman for the Election Directorate as saying.

The two-day poll began on Wednesday, but reports reaching the election coordination centre in Harare showed polling stations had been unable to cope with the rush of voters in several areas.

A total of 4.8 million people are registered to vote in both elections for a new parliament and the presidential election, which are running simultaneously.

The spokesman, Mr. Mariyawanda Nzuwa, said full details of the vote extension would be announced at a press briefing later on Thursday.

The polls would be open from 7am until 4pm on Friday, but there would definitely be no further extension beyond that, he confirmed.

### More Than 1 Million Vote in General Election

*MB2903173090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1639 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[Text] Harare, March 29, SAPA—More than one million people voted on the first day of Zimbabwe's general election on Wednesday, ZIANA news agency reported.

An election official on Thursday told reporters reports from all provinces showed 1,259,301 people had voted.

This figure, the official said, represented 26.5 per cent of the electorate of 4.8 million voters.

## The Gambia

### \* Economy Stable, Union With Senegal 'Unlikely'

34000402 London AFRICAN PREVIEW  
in English Feb 90 p 8

[Text] The national day of this anglophone country clinging to the banks of the Gambia River is February 18. The Gambia is one of the more anomalous countries on a continent riddled with anomalies. The historic issue has been its relationship with francophone Senegal in which it is embedded. Events in the eighties appeared to indicate that the choice had been made for a gradual process of intergration starting with the SeneGambian Confederation. It seems though that as the memory of **Kukoi Samba Sanyang's** attempted coup of July 30, 1981 recedes it takes with it intergrationist tendencies.

The revolt of 1981 was crushed with support of Senegalese paratroopers and a small group of British special forces. There is no doubt that President **Dauda Jawara** would not have survived without this assistance. The lacklustre commitment by the Gambian leadership to union after the initial crisis had passed lies in their realization that a substantial slice of the country's economic sector is reliant on cross border smuggling and that the elimination of tariff disparities would have an adverse impact on the economic establishment. The view in Banjul now appears to be that efforts should be directed to regional intergration thereby diverting attention from the immediate issues presented by the bilateral relationship with Senegal. Jawara has sought defence cover by an arrangement for mutual support with Nigeria. An increasing number of Nigerians now work in the country and their presence would offer sufficient justification for Nigerian involvement if that became necessary.

The Gambian economy is small but the population of approximately 700,000 enjoys a relatively high standard of living in comparison with others in the west African region. In particular the fishing industry has increased productivity and Banjul is host to fleets from other West African states and fish processing now appears to be an attractive area for development. Groundnut, the main export of Gambia has also been increasing although there have been marginal declines in cotton and coarse grain. The dramatic sector has been tourism. Banjul is now a well organised, cheap and highly popular winter resort for western Europeans and there is more capacity for development given the increasing sophistication and adventurism of this type of tourist. There must be a caveat, however. Tourism is notoriously dependent on political stability. Further, the Gambia is getting a reputation as an AIDS zone. This may be attributable to the fact that its public health system is more capable of identifying the disease than others in the region. However, if this perception becomes more widely shared it may adversely impact on the tourist trade.

Gambia is another economy also subject to supervision by the International Monetary Fund. Funds have been

made available by the IMF under both the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility and the Structural Adjustment Loan. These are both geared to the reduction of the budget deficit, elimination of external debts and a real increase in standards of living. Given Gambia's ability to manage its economy donors from a wide variety of regions have traditionally been willing to provide assistance often in the nature of grants. As the economy enters the new decade inflation is under control and prospects are positive.

In large part the stability of the country and its positive image internationally is attributable to the president who is an indefatigable salesman of his country. His refusal to allow the executions after the bloody revolt of 1981 enhanced that reputation. There has been some dissatisfaction amongst opponents to the government essentially centered around allegation of corruption and election irregularities. However, there is no doubt that the ruling People's Progressive Party is the dominant political force in the country and by dint of longevity has established links with religious, traditional and economic interests in order to ensure its continuation in power.

Ironically the prognosis must be that at the end of this decade The Gambia will still exist as an independent republic but that Senegal with its troubles in the Cassamance region may be somewhat attenuated. It may be that The Gambia's role in this region may be crucial to the development of Senegal.

## Guinea

### \* President's Primary Supporters, Opponents Named

34000470A London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL  
in English 9 Feb 90 pp 6, 7

[Unattributed Article: "Guinea: Back to Backs?"]

[Text] General Lansana Conte has promised Guineans he will restore democracy in five years. And by the end of this year, a new constitution which is now being drawn up by a 50-strong commission is to be put to referendum. After the poll, the ruling Military Committee of National Renewal (CMRN), which overthrew President Sekou Toure in April 1984, is supposed to disappear. Its place is to be taken by a new body composed of both civilians and soldiers which will supervise the creation of new institutions and test their solidity.

This is the point where the first cracks may appear in the structure. For, despite what is being said in public, not everyone on the CMRN is by any means keen to give power back to civilians. Some officers suspect Conte of using democracy as a means of getting rid of them: the presidential project aims to make every soldier who wants to remain in politics resign his army post. They see his plan as a ploy to remain in power: the military president will become a civilian president elected by universal suffrage, just like many of his African counterparts.

The 'hawks' who oppose the army's return to barracks are: Commandant Facinet Toure, Minister of Transport and Public Works; Cdt. Mamadou Balde, interior and decentralisation minister; and Cdt. Alhouseny Fofana, minister for Guinea-Forestiere region. Along with military committee member Cdt. Ousmane Sow (another opponent of Conte's policy), these three organised the purge of civilian and military officials of Sekou Toure's Malinke ethnic group after the failed coup attempt of July 1985. Cdt. Henri Tofani, presidency minister and head of defence and security, is also opposed to the army's return to barracks. He was an influential member of the 1986 military tribunal which tried army officers in camera, in absentia—and sometimes post mortem. President Conte himself accepted the idea of constitutional rule only after long hesitation.

Hardliners are to be found not only in the military committee but also among civilians. These include Herve-Vincent Bangoura, information, culture and tourism minister and once Sekou Toure's security police chief. As minister he replaced another hardliner, Zainoul Abidine Sanoussi, who enjoys the trust of Henriette Conte, the presidential wife who has just been 'exiled' as ambassador to the United Nations. Her influence had become an embarrassment to her husband. She and her clan are now in disgrace. Her absence was noticed at the festivities marking independence day last October, since when she has made no public appearance.

Opponents of democracy can also be found abroad. The French government has strongly advised against the creation of two political parties, AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL has learned (AC Vol 31 No 2). Paris has advised Conte to take Felix Houphouet-Boigny's neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire as his example.

In Guinea's power structure, three people play key roles:

- Cdt. Jean Traore, foreign minister and president of the constitutional commission. He is considered the government's number two man. He has held his portfolio since December 1985 in a country where, to stop his military ministers becoming dangerously powerful the president regularly removes them and exiles them to the interior for a while before reappointing them. Jean Traore has been in government since the army seized power in April 1984.
- Minister-secretary general of the presidency, Rene Alseny Gomez. An aviation engineer, he passed eight years in the infamous goal at Boiro camp where hundreds of people perished during Sekou Toure's rule. After the coup d'etat, he was appointed ambassador to neighbouring Liberia, from where he was called back to head the presidency's general secretariat. He is a sort of prime minister, in charge of the administrative apparatus.
- Edouard Benjamin, economy and finance minister, a former World Bank official.

Another person with considerable influence is Monsignor Robert Sarah, Archbishop of Conakry. He is very close to both Lansana and Henriette Conte.

Twenty-six years of Sekou Toure's harsh, family rule greatly impoverished Guinea. Gold- and diamond-production were both under the control of the presidential family. After the coup, this control was a major stake in the power struggle between Conte and the premier, Diarra Traore. Both production and trade were in the hands of Malinke business people close to Colonel Traore. Since Traore's execution for leading the 1985 coup attempt, Conte has controlled the mines through intermediaries.

Diarra Traore's attempted putsch in 1985 was followed by massacres of Malinke. The ethnic question remains crucial today and each of the three main groups is organised on an ethnic basis. Sekou Toure did not trust the country's major group, the Peulh, whose leaders he began to purge in 1976 following the 'Peulh plot'. Today, it is Conte's Soussou group, the principal tribe in the Conakry area, that dominates the structures of power. Is presidential support committee is expected to form the embryo of the future presidential party. Some believe that Conte proposed limiting the future parties top two in order to circumvent these ethnic divisions. But many believe the eventual outcome of the democratic experiment will have more to do with feelings in the armed forces.

## Ivory Coast

### Arrested Female Demonstrators Released

AB2903131290 Abidjan Domestic Service in French  
1245 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] More than 20 women, who were detained for questioning yesterday morning in the Plateau area of Abidjan, were released this morning. The head of state, showing indulgence toward them, asked the law enforcement agencies to set them free. The women, who were detained at the police station for 24 hours, were demonstrating in Plateau yesterday, in spite of the ban imposed by the government on all gatherings and demonstrations throughout the territory.

### Medical Workers Continue Strike Action

AB2903141290 Paris AFP in French  
1318 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Abidjan, 29 Mar (AFP)—Government paid doctors of the two public hospitals of Abidjan today continued their strike action which began on Monday, 26 March despite the government's requisition order issued on Tuesday, 27 March, AFP reporters noted. Private health centers are not affected by this strike.

Consultations have not been carried out for four days in the public hospitals in Abidjan. Only emergency cases are being treated, but they are all transferred to the Treichville University Teaching Hospital (CHU) where two military doctors have been working since yesterday.

A large majority of paramedical personnel—nurses and ward attendants—of these hospitals told AFP today that they support the doctors' action. They condemned the

extreme poverty of the public hospitals, which lack medicine. Only patients who bring along their own medicines are treated, they said.

The nurses also criticized the government for banning a meeting of their trade union, the National Union of Technical Personnel of Health (SYNAPESTA). They disowned the leadership of this union affiliated to the official central union, the General Union of Ivory Coast Workers (UGTCI), and expressed plans to entrust the leadership of their organization to a "crisis committee." [passage omitted]

### Strike Said Gaining Ground

AB2903215890 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
1830 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Excerpts] In Ivory Coast, the striking government employed doctors have hardened their strike action. Their total and unlimited strike was in its fourth day today. The strike action is widely observed in the two public hospitals of Abidjan, notwithstanding the requisition order given by the authorities. [passage omitted]

The strike action has also been observed since this morning at the Hospital Center of Bouake, the country's second largest city, and is gaining more and more ground with each passing day. Thus, the vast majority of the health personnel, nurses, and hospital assistants of the two major hospitals of the economic capital have declared their solidarity with the striking the doctors. Apart from the reduction of salaries, the health workers of Ivory Coast are also deploring the extremely poor condition of the country's public hospitals, where only patients who bring their own medicine are taken care of. It is, therefore, not surprising that in this situation, many families have gone to collect their hospitalized relatives.

### 2 of 4 Arrested Doctors Released

AB3003092090 Paris AFP in French  
0817 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Abidjan, 30 Mar (AFP)—Two of the four medical unionists arrested early this week were released on Thursday night while the remaining two may be released within the next few hours, Professor Rene Degni Segui, president of the Ivorian League of Human Rights told AFP. By 0730 the release of the two doctors had not been officially confirmed.

Dr. Adou Assoua, a 45 year old lung specialist and secretary general of the National Union of Senior Health Officers of Ivory Coast (SYNACASSCI—autonomous union), and Dr. Konan Manzan, deputy secretary general of the union were released on Thursday at midnight. The other two union leaders, who are still in detention, are Dr. Richard Kodjo, a gynecologist, and Samuel Gadegbecu, general secretary of the medical doctors' section of the National Union for Research and Higher Education (SYNARES).

The arrest of these four doctors caused the intensification of the strike action of Ivorian Government salaried doctors. The strike was stepped up to a "total and indefinite" one shortly after the report of the arrest of Dr. Kodjo.

The conflict has, for five days, paralyzed the two University Teaching Hospitals of Abidjan, where 350 doctors work. Since Wednesday 28 March, these doctors have stopped consultations and treatments. Emergency cases are handled by military doctors. Several regional health centers are affected by this strike action, especially Bouake, the second largest city of the country.

### Liberia

### U.S. Embassy Told 2 Missionaries Killed

AB2903175990 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] An American national and his British wife have been reportedly killed during fighting between government troops and rebel forces in Nimba County. The couple, an American national, Mr. Thomas Jackson, and his wife, a British national, Jane Jackson, were reportedly killed near Bahn City over the weekend. The two were members of the Anointed Liberia Amen Mission. According to a local daily in Monrovia, news about the death of the missionary couple was disclosed by Liberian military sources to the American Embassy near Monrovia.

\* Meanwhile, a U.S. Embassy official has said that the embassy, with assistance from the International Red Cross, is seeking to verify the report and recover the bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Jackson.

### Rebels Capture Two Catholic Missionaries

AB2903153990 Paris AFP in French 1435 GMT  
29 Mar 90

[Text] Monrovia, 29 Mar (AFP)—Two U.S. Catholic missionaries, John Thompson and Larry Gilmore, were captured at the beginning of this week by rebels in the northern part of Liberia, religious sources said today in Monrovia.

A couple of Protestant missionaries, Rev. Thomas Jackson, a U.S. citizen, and his wife, Jane, a British citizen, recently were killed in the same region where the national army has been trying to quell a revolt that started at the end of last December.

According to first information given by ecclesiastical sources, Father Thompson left the Saint-Francois Clinic in Tapeta (about 250 km north-east of Monrovia) early this week for a neighboring village, Kpetuo, and never reached his destination.

Father Gilmore on 27 March left to search for him but disappeared in his turn. Catholic circles, who feared the



two missionaries were captured, pointed out today they were able to establish a radio link with these missing persons.

### **Priests Found Safe; UNDP Halts Relief Convoy**

*AB2903164090 Paris AFP in English 1620 GMT  
29 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] Monrovia, March 29 (AFP)—Two U.S. Catholic priests were found safe in northern Liberia on Thursday after being held captive for three days by rebels, a source in their mission said Thursday.

Father John Thompson and Father Larry Gilmore of the Salesian Don Bosco order were back at the St. Francis mission in Tapeta village 155 miles (250 kilometres) from the capital, Father Henry O'Brien said.

He added that he had spoken to them by radio and said there were also three Italian sisters in the area.

Fr. Thompson, who had left the mission Monday, and Fr. Gilmore, who went to look for him, were both "in good condition", said Fr. O'Brien, but there were no immediate details of their detention.

U.S. Embassy officials meanwhile confirmed the reported deaths of two Protestant missionaries in strife-torn Nimba County, where rebels launched a coup bid on December 24 against President Samuel Doe.

They said Thomas Jackson of the United States and his British wife June were killed in fighting near Bahn. Liberian military sources had notified the embassy of their deaths. [passage omitted]

The U.S. Embassy this week "strongly advised" all Americans residing in Nimba County, except those in the secure mining town of Yekepa, to "immediately leave" the area because of fresh clashes between troops and rebels.

Informed sources said the U.S.-based Baptist Mid-Missions has already evacuated 19 missionaries from the region.

Fr. O'Brien said the U.S. priests would have to decide themselves if they will leave.

"The Americans will probably want them out, but it is not our policy to abandon places. We will not leave our mission," he said.

Meanwhile, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) on Wednesday held back a convoy of trucks carrying 170 tons of relief supplies until the government was able to guarantee their safety.

The goods were to be taken to Tapeta before being distributed.

The supplies including rice, canned meat, salt and cooking oil, were to leave here Wednesday on a detour

route around roadblocks travellers said rebels have set up to cut off the main highway linking Ganta and Tapeta.

### **UK Envoy Advises British To Leave Yekepa**

*AB2903194990 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 29 Mar 90*

[From the "Focus in Africa" program]

[Text] The British ambassador in Liberia has joined his American counterpart in advising foreign nationals in Nimba County to leave the area. It's been a scene of mayhem and bloodshed since December when Charles Taylor's rebellion erupted. Since then there have been persistent reports of army overreaction, harassment, atrocities. Last week, there were reports of a new and widespread flare-up of fighting with rebels taking new initiatives in attacking local towns and two missionaries have gone missing and are presumed killed. On the line to Monrovia, Timothy Ercott asked the British ambassador, Micheal Gore, why he thought Britons should leave Nimba County.

[Begin recording] [Gore] Two weeks ago, I advised the British community resident in Nimba County, except those on the mining complex at Yekepa, that they should leave Nimba County. The American Embassy did exactly the same. The reason was that the situation was uncertain and it would seem far better that we should not have British citizens in the area of fighting.

[Ercott] You say the situation is uncertain, it's been uncertain for quite some time now. Did you have fresh information that allegedly the situation was deteriorating?

[Gore] There were a number of incidents further into Liberia from the border area where the trouble has been concentrated at the beginning of the year, and there were some incidents as far down as the Ganta-Zwedru road. And at that point it seemed sensible for me to advise the British community to leave. I, at that stage, did not advise the community resident in the mining complex at Yekepa up on the Guinea border to leave. But, this I did yesterday.

[Ercott] What is the situation in Yekepa? What information do you have about the situation there?

[Gore] Well, actually, it's still quiet in Yekepa, but there was a considerable amount of fighting down and close to the road between Monrovia and Yekepa, near the town of Ganta during the night before last. And at that point, it seemed sensible to advise the community in Yekepa to leave.

[Ercott] Ambassador, where are you getting your information about this fighting in Ganta?

[Gore] Well, various people who visited Ganta and who came down to Monrovia during the course of yesterday reported what they had heard and seen as of the previous 24 hours or so.

[Ercott] And what sort of situation are they describing? It is worse than it has been? Is it sporadic fighting? Who is doing this?

[Gore] It's sporadic fighting clearly between the insurgents and the Armed Forces of Liberia. What made me say the British community should leave Yekepa, which the American Embassy issued the same advice yesterday, was that the fighting was close to the main road and it seemed sensible that the community should be advised to leave.

[Ercott] Ambassador, what would you say is the security situation regarding the local population? Are people leaving the areas in large numbers?

[Gore] Yes, they were certainly leaving the area around Ganta yesterday in quite large numbers, yes. But a lot have, of course, left already during the course of the last few months. In fact, I went up to Yekepa myself, I drove up about five weeks ago to visit the community and villages which had been bustling with thousands of people when I last went to the area in November last year were completely deserted. So, a great many people had already left but more were leaving during the course of the weekend and through this week. [end recording]

#### **UN Convoy To Leave for Nimba County 28 Mar**

*AB2803071890 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1709 GMT 27 Mar 90*

[Text] The first United Nations convoy for Nimba County will leave tomorrow morning at 0600 to deliver urgently needed relief food. A United Nations Development Program release issued today said the consignment represents the first part of an initial 170 metric tons. The consignment is comprised of rice, tinned meat, salt, and oil. The convoy will travel through Buchanan to Tapeta in Nimba County, and the relief agencies are attempting to distribute food relief and medical assistance to an estimated 135,000 displaced people in Nimba County. The release said the situation in Nimba continues to be difficult with many villages abandoned, while some towns are experiencing diminishing populations. Amidst all this, all the remaining populations are living in the bush and these are the people for whom the relief food is meant.

Meanwhile, the Japanese and United States Governments have pledged 4,600 metric tons of rice.

## **Nigeria**

### **Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze Visits**

#### **Delegations Hold Meeting**

*AB2703184090 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 26 Mar 90*

[Text] Nigeria and the Soviet Union are exploring new strategies to improve their relations. In this direction, a closed-door meeting was held in Lagos today between the two countries. The minister of external affairs, Dr. Rilwanu Lukman, was at the head of Nigeria's delegation, while his Soviet counterpart, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, led his country's team. Diplomatic Correspondent Joseph Azoror has the details:

[Begin Azoror recording] Top on the agenda were matters concerning trade and investment, scientific and technical cooperation, joint ventures, bilateral relations, and the Ajaokuta Steel Plant. The talks also covered South Africa, Namibia, Angola, and disarmament. After the closed-door meeting, Mr. Shevardnadze addressed a news conference where he announced appointment of a Soviet ambassador designate to Nigeria. She is Mrs. (Oled Bacherov). The Soviet foreign minister said the appointment would strengthen relations between the two countries. The last Soviet ambassador to the country left Lagos last year.

Mr. Shevardnadze stressed that both countries needed more than just diplomatic ties. He said the proposed visit of President Ibrahim Babangida would be a landmark in opening new areas of cooperation between the two countries.

On South Africa, Mr. Shevardnadze noted that talks held between the racist leader and Dr. Nelson Mandela indicated that true dialogue, the much needed peace and stability, could be achieved. He called on the international community to speed up efforts in ensuring the dismantling of the shameful system of apartheid. Mr. Shevardnadze noted that time had come to look for a peaceful settlement and make the policy of national reconciliation acceptable in Africa. He stated that his visit to various African countries was an indication of the preparedness of the Soviet Union to work in close collaboration with the countries. [end recording]

#### **Received by President Babangida**

*AB2703185590 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 26 Mar 90*

[Text] Ministries concerned with the provision of support services at the Ajaokuta Steel Complex are to be given completion deadlines. President Ibrahim Babangida gave this indication today when he held talks with the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, at the State House, Marina. General Babangida therefore assured the Soviet foreign minister that the commencement of all steel production at the Steel Complex will not be delayed by the noncompletion vital infrastructure

such as rail transportation for the movement of raw materials and finished products.

Mr. Shavardnadze had pledged that the Soviet technical partners in the project would complete their contractual obligations by next year. He however expressed concern that the absence of essential support services would delay its take-off.

Gen. Babangida said the Federal Government shared the Soviet Union's desire to see the project completed and expand the areas of economic, technological, and cultural cooperation between Nigeria and the Soviet Union. The president accepted an invitation from the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, to visit Moscow for further discussions on bilateral cooperation.

In his own remark, Mr. Shavardnadze observed that while political relations between both countries were exemplary, there was room for improvement in other areas. He was optimistic that a meeting between President Babangida and Mr. Gorbachev would greatly facilitate closer ties between the two countries, especially in economic and technological fields.

Among issues which featured at the talks between President Babangida and Mr. Shavardnadze were the recent developments in southern Africa and the growing rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the United States. Others are the reduction in arms race, political reforms in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, as well as the foreign policy implication of German unification, and the establishment of a new world economic order.

#### Joint Communique Issued

*AB2703204090 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 27 Mar 90*

[Text] Nigeria and the Soviet Union have expressed their determination to work out and sign an investment promotion and protection agreement. This was announced in a communique at the end of talks in Lagos yesterday between the minister of external affairs, Dr. Rilwanu Lukman, and his Soviet counterpart, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze. Diplomatic correspondent Joseph Azorro has the report:

[Begin Azorro recording] The two ministers discussed a number of bilateral and international issues of mutual interest to both countries. They agreed on the need to sign a treaty on legal assistance and an agreement for cooperation in science and technology. Both countries also agreed to sign a protocol on political consultation. In addition, they resolved to ensure the early completion of the Ajaokuta Steel Project, and agreed to promote bilateral trade. All the agreements and protocols are to be discussed at the inaugural meeting of the Nigeria-Soviet Intergovernmental Joint Commission for Cooperation.

Dr. Rilwanu Lukman and Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze reviewed the political situation in South Africa, and noted the developments that have taken place, including

the proposed dialogue between the South African Government, the ANC [African National Congress], and other antiapartheid organizations. It was agreed that the pressure on the South African Government and support for antiapartheid organizations in the country should be intensified until apartheid was dismantled and a democratic society emerged in South Africa.

The two countries expressed delight at the independence of Namibia, and called for international support and assistance to enable the country to consolidate its political and economic independence and preserve its territorial integrity.

On Angola and Mozambique, both nations expressed their opinion on the necessity for further efforts toward finding a peaceful settlement of the internal conflicts in the two countries.

Both sides noted the progress made in the negotiations toward global peace and security, and welcomed the prospects for diverting the huge expenditures on the arms race to economic and social development. The Soviet minister has since returned home. [end recording]

#### DEMOCRAT Views Visit

*AB2803111390 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
0600 GMT 26 Mar 90*

[Text] The DEMOCRAT sees the visit of Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze to some African countries, including Nigeria, as significant not only for its timing, but also because, according to the paper, it is the first of its kind to the continent by any Soviet foreign minister. The DEMOCRAT recalls the support given to Nigeria by the Soviet Union during the civil war, and says the time has come for Nigeria to help the Kremlin in its efforts to keep the Union together.

#### USSR Urged To Help Curb Nuclear Waste Dumping

*AB2703194690 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 26 Mar 90*

[Text] Nigeria has called on the Soviet Union to support all measures that will curb the dumping of nuclear and other hazardous wastes in developing countries. The Soviet Union has also been asked to protect the environment of less developed nations. The minister of external affairs, Dr. Rilwanu Lukman, made the appeal in Lagos at a dinner organized in honor of the Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze.

Dr. Lukman said that the Federal Government was committed to ensuring that Africa remained a nuclear-free zone. He called on nuclear powers to desist from giving nuclear aid to South Africa. He hoped that Africa's relations with the Soviet Union would gain in substance and purposefulness within the framework of the new reforms in the USSR with its emphasis on universal human rights and better cooperation with all nations and peoples irrespective of ideologies, creed, and

race. Dr. Lukman disclosed that 36 Soviet enterprises had indicated their desire to enter into joint ventures with their Nigerian counterparts. Also 30 Nigerian companies had shown keen interest in the Soviet market.

Responding Mr. Shevardnadze commended Nigeria's commitment to the realization of Namibia's independence and asked the government not to relent in its efforts until the obnoxious apartheid system was dismantled in South Africa.

#### **\* Flourishing Trade in Stolen Checks Reported**

34000475A London AFRICA ANALYSIS in English  
2 Feb 90 p 12

[Text] Lagos. Honest Nigerians nowadays often feel themselves to be in a fast-vanishing minority. Fraud seems universal—and the man who dreams up a new trick soon has an army of imitators. The most rewarding rackets, naturally enough, revolve round foreign currency.

That is why the trade in stolen cheques is booming. Mail arriving from abroad is the lure for crooks, operating both inside and outside the postal services. Business letters are filched and opened; when cheques are found, these are quickly sold at a discount on the parallel market.

Travellers flying to Europe find them extremely convenient—a few cheques in your wallet or handbag are much less likely to attract attention than deadly substances in or around your person. The object is to put them through a bank account before it is realised that they are stolen and can be stopped.

This trade is creating further rents in the nation's already tattered reputation. In London, one police station in a district where Nigerians congregate is reputed to have three officers working full-time on the cheque frauds.

Banks and building societies have tightened up surveillance of accounts whose holders deposit cheques not made out in their own names, and freeze them instantly when suspicions are aroused.

But often the fraudster acts too fast, withdrawing the bulk of the stolen funds from the account and never returning.

Many Nigerians try to blame this crime boom on the pressures of the structural adjustment programme. But others think these traits of dishonesty just copy established corruption at the top. The latest (5 February) issue of the Nigerian economist says of the Central Bank of Nigeria: 'The chief operators of the Bank have not changed, merely assumed higher titles and powers. The men at the helm when import licences and foreign exchange were swindled are still the same operators now.'



**END OF**

**FICHE**

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